HANDBOUND
AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/celticreview06edinuoft

S-386

THE CELTIC REVIEW

THE
CELTIC REVIEW

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

CONSULTING EDITOR: PROFESSOR MACKINNON

ACTING EDITOR: MISS E. C. CARMICHAEL

VOLUME VI

JULY 1909 TO APRIL 1910

EDINBURGH: T. & A. CONSTABLE, PRINTERS TO HIS MAJESTY.
LONDON: DAVID NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE, W.C.
DUBLIN: HODGES, FIGGIS & CO., LTD., 104 GRAFTON ST

LIBRARY
DEC 22 1965
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1033789

Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty

CONTENTS

		PAGE
Accents, Apostrophes, and Hyphens in Scottish Gaelic,	*Professor Mackinnon,*	193
A New Solution of the Fairy Problem,	*David MacRitchie,*	160
An Outline of Breton History,	*Yvonne Josse,*	30
Aspiration in Scottish Gaelic,	*Professor Mackinnon,*	97
Battle of Raith and its Song Cycle,	*E. W. B. Nicholson,*	214
Bas Bhrain Agus Dhiarmaid,	*Donald MacDonald,*	131
Buchanan, Dugald,	*William Jolly*	147
Conn, Son of the Red,	*Donald A. Mackenzie,*	150
Dermaid and Grainnè,	*Donald A. Mackenzie,*	348
Druids and Mound-Dwellers,	*David MacRitchie,*	257
Duatharachd na Mara,	*Coinneach MacLeoid,*	241
Jubainville, M. d'Arbois de,		384
Landavensium Ordo Chartarum,	*Alfred Anscombe,*	123, 272, 289
Moore, Mr. A. W.,		283
Morrison, John, of Harris,	*Rev. M. N. Munro,*	135
Note,	*By Niall D. Campbell,*	190
O! 's tu 's gura tu th' air m'aire,	*Miss F. M. Morrison,*	130
On the Orthography of Scottish Gaelic,	*Professor Mackinnon,*	1

PAGE

Pan-Celtic Notes, ... 85, 176, 287, 375

Reply, ... 288

Reviews of Books:

Die Kultur des Gegenwart, Drs. Zimmer, Stern, and Kuno Meyer, (*reviewed by Julius Pokorny*); Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie (*reviewed by A. O. A.*), ... 93

Handbuch des Altirischen, Professor Thurneysen (*reviewed by A. O. A.*); The Bretons at Home, Mrs. Frances M. Gostling (*reviewed by G. M. Colvin*); Gaelic Songs for Schools, C. H. Mackay and M. Macfarlane (*reviewed by Rev. M. N. Munro*); Musical Instruments, Pt. II., R. B. Armstrong (*reviewed by Rev. M. N. Munro*); Songs of the Hebrides, Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser (*reviewed by Rev. M. N. Munro*); An Introduction to Early Welsh, by the late John Strachan, LL.D. (*reviewed by Professor E. Anwyl*); Welsh Mediæval Law, Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans (*reviewed by Professor E. Anwyl*), . . 181

The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland, Rev. George Henderson (*reviewed by W. A. Craigie, LL.D.*); Old Ross-shire and Scotland, W. Macgill (*reviewed by W. J. Watson, LL.D.*); Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz, Alfred Holder (*reviewed by W. J. Watson, LL.D.*); Duthil, Past and Present, Rev. Donald Maclean; Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander, Duncan Campbell, . 378

Righ Eirionn 's a dha mhac, . *Late Rev. J. G. Campbell of Tiree*, . . . 364

Some Unrecorded Incidents of the Jacobite Risings, . . *Alexander Carmichael, LL.D.*, . . 278, 334

The Connection of the Isle of Man with Ireland, . . . *A. W. Moore, Speaker of the House of Keys*, . . 110

The Fians of Knockfarrel, . . *Donald A. Mackenzie*, . 18

The Macneills of Argyllshire, . *Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair*, 55

The Relative Clause in Scotch Gaelic, ... *John Fraser, M.A.*, . 356

		PAGE
The Scottish Race and Kingdom,	*James Ferguson, K.C.,*	304
Topographical Varia,	*W. J. Watson, LL.D.,*	236
Traces of Neuter Gender in Scottish Gaelic,	*Professor Mackinnon,*	296
Welsh Folk-Song Collections,	*Alfred Perceval Graves and Dr. Lloyd Williams,*	207
Welsh Note,		377
Whitley Stokes,	*Richard Henebry,*	65
Who is the Heir of the Duchy of Brittany?	*Henry Jenner,*	47

THE CELTIC REVIEW

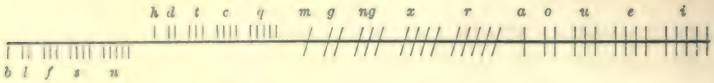
JULY 15, 1909

ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH GAELIC

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

AMONG the nations who have made use of the Roman Alphabet in writing their language the Celts, and especially the Gaels, were from the first placed, or placed themselves, at a disadvantage. The most copious Alphabet, it need hardly be said, is incapable of adequately indicating the almost infinite variety of word-sounds, and the Latin Alphabet possesses only a very limited number of characters. And here it may be remarked once for all that words are *sounds*, and not, as we have fallen into the habit of writing, an arbitrary combination of vowels and consonants. In the matter of vowel-sounds the several peoples stood pretty much upon a level. They borrowed all the Latin vowel-characters, and endeavoured to represent their sounds by writing these singly, doubly, or in combination. The case was different with respect to the consonant-sounds. The Celtic dialects, as is well known, differ from the Teutonic and Romance dialects in having their consonant-sounds infected or modified in a remarkable manner. The fact makes the need for additional characters more clamant in their case. But, to our surprise, the Gaels did not adopt into their Alphabet the whole of the consonants available. This is all the more astonishing when we remember that the people were in the habit of writing their language in a copious Alphabet of

their own before they came into literary communication with the Romans. This was the Ogham Alphabet, which consisted of a series of straight lines arranged with reference to a base stem thus :



Other and more elaborate graphs were used later for diphthongs, triphthongs, *p* and *z*. A witty Frenchman once remarked that this peculiar script must have been invented for the convenience of stone-cutters, and he might have added that it is quite possible the inventor was a stone-cutter. We hear of its having been used on wooden tablets, but specimens have disappeared. Apart from explanations of the characters and of their values preserved in old MSS., examples of the actual use of the Ogham script now remain only in inscriptions on stone. It may be added that the value of these inscriptions is linguistic rather than literary or historical. They prove to us, among other things, that Gaelic declension was, in the fifth century, written with nearly the fulness of form of Gaulish declension four hundred years earlier, or of Latin declension of the same period. But such a clumsy mode of writing was not destined to survive.

Whatever the reason, our early Gaelic authors in making use of the Latin Alphabet for writing their language borrowed only eighteen of its characters, the five vowels and thirteen consonants. They did indeed make occasional use of a few others—*y* and *z* are met with once or twice in the oldest of the MSS. ; they wrote *k* occasionally as a contraction for *ca*, or for *cath* ' battle,' *q* for *cu*, and *x* for *cs*. This last they retained permanently in their numeration to express, as in Latin, ten. They seem never to have used *j* or *v*, and the Romans themselves did not have *w*. The Gaels attached to the characters they borrowed the values which they represented in Latin as closely as the sounds of the two languages permitted. They spelled, in a rough and ready

way, phonetically. There were dialects then as now, and these account no doubt for some of the anomalies in orthography which meet us even in the best written MSS. But the fruitful source of discrepancies in spelling, before the invention of printing and for long after, was due to the fact that there was no careful proof-reading in those days, and that authors and scribes were not so much impressed with the importance of uniformity in orthography as we have become.

Our ancestors who founded our orthographical system thus hampered it by limiting the number of characters adopted from the Latin Alphabet. They further loaded it by endeavouring to preserve in their orthography the etymological relations of words. And the peculiar phonesis of the Celtic dialects necessitated recognition which constitutes the most distinctive feature of our orthography. For example: the pointed dental sound represented in English by *t* and *d* is practically uniform, so that the characters always indicate the sounds. But in Gaelic *t* and *d* stand each for two different sounds. We indicate these in writing by attaching a broad vowel (*a*, *o*, or *u*) in the one case to these consonants, and a small vowel (*e* or *i*) in the other. The sound of small-*t*, which is like the English *ch* or rather *tch*, it would be difficult to represent; but the sound of small-*d* would be fairly indicated by *j*, if only that character had been in the Gaelic Alphabet. Again the common personal name popularly pronounced *Do'all* was in its full form *Domnovalos*, 'world-chief.' By the time the word was first written in Gaelic the terminal *-os* had disappeared, the *v* had vocalised, and the name was written *Domnall*, although sounded *Dovnall*. It was written in Latin *Dovenald*, hence the final *d* in the English form *Donald*. We now write in Gaelic *Domhnall*, thus preserving so far the evidence of the original form of the name. But we do so in this case, as in numberless other cases, by writing legions of now silent consonants. Such is the tribute we pay to etymology in our orthography.

The more peculiar features of our Gaelic mode of spelling are due to the phonesis of the language. In the Celtic dialects the consonant-sounds are modified to a much larger extent than in the neighbouring European tongues. They become in certain well-defined positions infected, so to speak, in a remarkable way. One of these we call Aspiration. This feature of our language, although, perhaps, not so all-pervading when the language first came to be written as it now is, was in active operation, but the earliest scribes recognised it in the case of two consonants only—*c* and *t*. They wrote these, when aspirated, in one of two ways, either *ch*, *th*, as we write them in Scotland now, or by placing a graph over them somewhat like a bisected *h* thus— *ċ*, *ṫ*. But that the other consonants had their aspirated sounds, although the MSS. take no note of the fact, we have convincing proof. The sounds of radical *b* and *m*, and of *d* and *g*, are quite different, and do not become confused. But the infected or aspirated sounds of the same pairs of consonants are so nearly identical that in phonetic writing they frequently interchange—*e.g.* *bh* and *mh* as in ria*b*h for ria*m*h ; *dh* and *gh* as in dea*d*h for dea*g*h. We find the confusion in the oldest writings. In the Zeussian glosses, *e.g.* claide*b*, 'sword,' is the all but universal form. But occasionally cloide*m* is met with. Later, cloide*m* became the common script, and now we write invariably claidhea*m*h in Scotland and cloidea*ṁ* in Ireland. The Latin word *memoria* was early borrowed into Gaelic. We write the word correctly meo*mh*air, but in old MSS. the more common form was me*b*uir. The explanation of this interchange of *b* and *m* in these as in many other instances is that the real interchange is not between *b* and *m* but between *bh* and *mh*. Similarly with respect to *d* and *g*, the confusion of which in the old as in the modern orthography is so common that illustration is hardly necessary, *e.g.* dea*d*h-ghean, 'goodwill,' for dea*g*h-ghean ; an dei*g*h so, 'after this,' for an dei*d*h so.

At a later date, Gaelic writers, observing that aspirated *s* sounded only as a breathing and that aspirated *f* was

altogether silent, noted these facts in their script. But instead of adopting the marks of aspiration of *c* and *t*, they used the *punctum delens* of Latin scribes and placed a dot (.) over these consonants to indicate their aspiration, thus *ḟ*, *ṡ*. The oldest of the great Gaelic MSS., *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, the scribe of which was killed by a party of robbers in A.D. 1106, is written with marks of aspiration placed on these four consonants only—*c*, *t*, *s*, and *f*. Gradually, in later MSS., the other consonants came to be marked when aspirated like *s* and *f*, the consonants *c* and *t* still retaining their old signs. As it happened it was John Carsewell of Argyll who, in 1567, had the distinction of being the first to print a Gaelic book. He was quite familiar with MSS. and the practice of Gaelic scribes. But he indicated the aspiration of consonants, not by putting the dot over the infected letter, but by placing *h* alongside of it. Although *l*, *n*, and *r*, the only consonants which we double now in writing, have their aspirated sounds like the others Carsewell somehow ignored these three and left them unmarked. His example has since been followed in Scotland. The editors of the quarto edition of the Gaelic Scriptures of 1826 felt the anomaly of leaving aspirated *l*, *n*, *r* unmarked, but instead of writing *h* after these letters to indicate their aspiration they printed them thus: *l̇*, *ṅ*, *ṙ*. This method was followed in the Highland Society's Dictionary, in an edition of the Scriptures printed in very small type, and in one or two minor publications, but was not generally adopted. In Irish print, on the other hand, the placing of a dot over the consonant to mark aspiration has been followed.

Another phase of infection which appears in our spelling is what is called Nasal Infection, due to the operation of the sound which *n* represents. In individual words *n* in Gaelic affects the adjacent consonant in a remarkable way. Before *t*, *e.g.*, it regularly disappeared. The original Aryan word which the Romans wrote *inter* we write ea*d*ar. Even in modern loans the same result is seen—Parliame*nt*

becomes Parlamai*d*. Again, at the present day, the combination *ng* is hardly ever sounded in full among us. The one element or the other gives way. We write fuili*ng*, but we say either fuili*nn* or fuili*g*. But it is with respect to initial sounds that the operation of the nasal mainly concerns us here. It is well known that in Gaelic when two words in close grammatical relation are sounded together under one accent they are treated phonetically as one word. The phonetic processes that rule in the individual word govern this Unit, as it is sometimes called. In the case of Vocalic Infection, initial Aspiration is explained in this way. We say, *e.g.*, that the *t* in *màthair* is aspirated, because it is a single consonant flanked by vowels. If we place a word like *mo*, 'my,' which originally ended in a vowel, before *màthair*, the *m* of *màthair* is now temporarily flanked by vowels as the *t* is permanently, and the *m*, while in this position, aspirates like the *t*, and for the same reason. Similarly with respect to the initial aspiration which follows certain cases of the Article, certain Prepositions, and the like. A similar influence is exerted on the following word in the case of an Unit, of which the final sound of the first word was an original nasal—such words as *gu'n*, 'that'; *an*, the Interrogative particle; *an* (*n*), the Preposition, and many others. The nasal in such an Unit operates as in individual words. The old Grammarians formulated the Rule of the Nasal thus: 'The Nasal stands firm before vowels; it disappears before *s* and *f*; it assimilates with *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*; it disappears before the *tenues c*, *p*, *t*, reducing these to their corresponding *mediae*, *g*, *b*, *d*; and it eclipses (in their Gaelic phrase "drowns") the *mediae*.' I do not know whether there ever has been, over a wide area, rigid adherence to the rule of the Grammarians in the speech of the people; but in Ireland there was at any rate large adherence, and the language has been written in terms of the rule. In Scotland there has been only partial adherence in writing, while in speaking some districts follow the rule more closely than others. The early editors of the Scrip-

tures pretty uniformly observed the clause regarding assimilation of the nasal with *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*—they wrote as a rule *gu* (not *gu'n*) *leag*, *gu mair*, *gu naomhaich*, *gu ruig*, forms which we would do well to follow. But neither they nor the Scottish grammarians took note of the part of the rule relating to *tenues* and *mediae*. In Scotland we give only a very limited obedience to this part. We almost all say *An deid thu leam?* 'Will you go with me?' but no one says, much less writes, *A d-teid thu leam?* Some say *ané*, 'yesterday,' but much the greater number say, as we all write, *an dé*. In common speech we expel the nasal oftener than not before *s* and *f*; in writing we do exactly the reverse. In Scotland as in Ireland the nasal always stands firm before vowels.

The cases mentioned derive their validity mainly from the operation of the clause accent or stress. But these by no means exhaust the influence of the accent upon our pronunciation, or even upon our orthography, although the grammarians and lexicographers take little or no notice of the fact. Some words have developed two forms under its sway—*là* and *latha*, *bidh* and *bithidh*, *thuirt* and *thubhairt*, with many more. *An dara latha*, 'the second day,' but *an dara la deug*, 'the twelfth day'; *bidh mi falbh*, 'I will be going,' but *bithidh*, *gun teagamh*, 'Yes, certainly.' *Màthair* is a word of two syllables, the first being long. Attach *céile*, 'spouse,' as a qualifying epithet, and you have *mathàir-chéile* as we write the compound noun. The stress is strong on the second element *céile*, and under its influence the first word *màthair* becomes a monosyllable, and short at that. We say *Měir-chéile*. In the same way in the cases where sounds of strong assimilative force—*l* and *d*, *n* and *d*, *c* and *ch* or *g*, *s* and *d* or *t*, *d* and *t* and others—meet in a phrase, aspiration is checked through the influence of the accent: thus—*gun fhios da*, 'unknown to him,' but *gun fhios dhà-san*; *mac Ghriogair* (under even accent), 'Gregor's son,' but *Mac-Griogair* (under one strong accent), 'Mac-Gregor.' Ignorant of the part which the accent plays in

such phrases good writers are frequently misled. Even the translators of the Scriptures wrote *facal Dé*, a phrase under even accent, as equivalent to 'the word of God.' The true equivalent is 'the word of (a) god.' To check the aspiration of the proper name, the phrase would require to have one strong stress, on the first syllable or on the last. The meaning meant to be conveyed is properly expressed in Scottish Gaelic by *facal Dhé*.

Because of the poverty of our Alphabet the early Gaelic writers were, like others, obliged to use certain devices to indicate the different timbre of the consonants. In English, *e.g.*, the different shades of the *g* sound are indicated by the quality of the following vowel in *got* and *get*. The same plan was followed in Gaelic. The timbre of the consonants, except *b*, *f*, *m*, and *p*, whose sounds hardly vary, is indicated by the quality of the vowel, broad or small, which follows them. But when, through the decay of flexion or otherwise, no vowel followed, a difficulty arose which had to be overcome. Our word *bàrd*, *e.g.*, is what we call a noun of the masculine o-stem group, and was declined in old Gaelic like *dominus* in Latin, with its genitive singular and nominative plural alike. The Gaelic forms would be—Nominative singular bard-*os*, Genitive bard-*i*. The flexional syllables disappeared very probably before the language was written, but the sound of the truncated word did not change. The nominative case presented no difficulty. The *d* was followed by a broad vowel when the word had its full form, and preceded by a broad vowel in its docked form, so that its proper sound was sufficiently guarded to the eye. But what of the genitive? Its sound was *barj-i*, and bard-*i* represented that sound. When the *-i* syllable was dropped, the sound still remaining was *barj*. Could *bard* represent this sound? It clearly could not. That was the sound of the nominative case. Had the *j* been adopted into the Gaelic Alphabet, the proper spelling would have been an easy matter—*barj*. As things were, the only possible solution of the difficulty was resorted to, viz. to introduce into the

truncated word the dropped vowel of flexion in order to safeguard to the eye the proper sound of the *d*, and to write ba*i*rd. The same plan was afterwards adopted in the case of final consonants which, so far as known to the scribes, never had a flexional syllable. *S* followed by a broad vowel is sibilant; *s* followed by a small vowel sounds like English *sh*. But what of *sis*, 'downwards,' *fis*, 'knowledge,' and such like? Frequently the doubling of the ambiguous consonant was resorted to, as in *fiss*, but latterly a broad or a small vowel, as the case required, was inserted before the final consonant so as to indicate its timbre to the eye—*sios*, *fios*, and so forth. The plan adopted carried far-reaching consequences which remain with us. It has provided us with a number of spurious diphthongs for one thing. It is also, I believe, accountable for our famous orthographical Rule known as *Leathann ri leathann is caol ri caol*, 'Broad to broad and small to small,' *i.e.* the vowels flanking consonants must be of the same quality. In some of its aspects the rule is merely an illustration in Gaelic of a tendency in most languages to the assimilation of the vowels. In others the rule has, in our system, a phonetic justification. Take, *e.g.*, the *-idh* of our future tense. The suffix can attach simply enough to verbs which have a small vowel already in the stem—*cuir*, *buin*, with many others. But what of a large number of those whose final sound is broad—*fàg*, *fàs*, etc.? If simple *-idh* be added to these the broad sound of *g* and *s* is no longer represented. *Fàgidh* and *fàsidh* would indicate small *g* and *sh*. Gaelic orthography would thus demand in the large majority of cases that we should spell according to the rule. And it is not at all improbable that the old scholars who formulated it looked upon the comparatively few cases that deviated from it as errors of spelling, and that they substituted for a phonetic rule of wide sway an arbitrary law of universal application. The Fourth Syllogism in Logic is supposed to have been framed upon analogous reasoning. Be this as it may, the Gaelic rule is on the face of it open to many

objections, and in one or two special cases is absolutely indefensible. The ending of the past participle passive of Gaelic verbs has always sounded *te*. But the rule compels us to write *ta* after a broad vowel—togt*a* for togt*e*. Similar observations might be made regarding other suffixes, *e.g.* *-an*, *-ag*, *-ail* and others. The reader will find a powerful and exhaustive criticism of the rule by Dr. Stewart in his *Grammar*, p. 32 *et seq.* (ed. 1811), but is so far nugatory because the able and sagacious author unfortunately overlooked the fact that in polysyllabic words the sound of a consonant in Gaelic is indicated by the vowel which follows it, not by that which precedes.

The only one of the vowels of which special note need be taken in connection with our orthography is *e*. *A*, *o*, and *u* have always been broad, and *i* has always been small. But, especially in monosyllabic words, *e* was ambiguous. It showed the small sound of the preceding consonant uniformly, but the consonant following was as often as not broad. Thus *sen*, 'old'; *cét*, 'first,' 'hundred'; *nél*, 'cloud,' with hundreds more. Hence it was found necessary to write a broad vowel in such cases after *e* to remove the ambiguity: *sean*, *ceud*, *neul*. Later, even when a small consonant sound followed *e*, *i* was added; so that, except in the case of one or two words such as *leth*, a consonant does not now immediately follow *e*. It is always *ea*, *ei*, *eo*, or *eu* with us.

Such are the main principles upon which our system of orthography was framed by capable and, for their day, learned men, and developed by their successors, scholars who made the structure of the language a subject of close study for a thousand years. It had its imperfections, due partly to the poverty of the Alphabet, partly to the laudable desire to preserve evidence of the origin of the vocables, and largely to the phonesis of the language. But carefully-written MSS. of the sixteenth century and Carswell's translation of Knox's *Liturgy* are about as correctly written and printed as English MSS. and books of the period.

On Scottish ground Gaelic scholarship, and especially the practice of writing the language in the traditional orthography, was, so far as one can gather, pretty much confined to Argyll and the Isles. Thus, even in the Book of Deer, we find some marked divergencies from Irish MSS. of the same date. There is a greater tendency to suppress silent consonants, and in one or two cases aspiration (of *c*, *e.g.*) is indicated by doubling the letter, a device of spelling common in Welsh, but unknown in Gaelic. And when the Dean of Lismore, on the eve of the Reformation, made his collection of Gaelic verse, his brother and amanuensis, a native of Fortingall, discarded the Gaelic hand and Gaelic orthography, and wrote phonetically, using all the characters of the Alphabet as well as the handwriting current in southern Scotland in his day, all which innovations help to make that MS. so difficult to read and understand now. Similarly Duncan Macrae wrote in 1688-93 the Fernaig MS. phonetically in the dialect of the west of Ross-shire, and in the Alphabet and handwriting of the south of Scotland.

After the Reformation, and mainly because of it, together with the fall of the Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre and the Plantation of Ulster, the knowledge and practice of the Gaelic hand and orthography gradually died out in Scotland. By 1750, while many spoke the old tongue with greater power and purity than we do now, few could write it according to the traditional way. Besides, the literary orthography had in course of time become more and more unsuitable for Highland needs. The number of silent letters had accumulated. Orthographical forms, such as the use of the nasal with the *tenues* and *mediae*, misrepresented as often as not the sounds of Scottish Gaelic. Our diction and idioms demanded fuller recognition. A great Reform of the traditional orthography became essential, if literature was to flourish among us. This reform fell into the hands of capable and scholarly men who worked, in a conservative manner, upon the old lines, so far as they knew and understood them—Macfarlane of Kilmelford, Dr. Smith of

Campbeltown, the Stewarts of Killin, Luss, and Dingwall, Robert Armstrong, Ewen M'Lachlan, and the editors of the Highland Society's Dictionary, with others. Through the labours of these men we had by 1828 a fairly uniform standard of orthography, based upon the old, but modified to suit Scottish requirements.

Hitherto we in Scotland had been free from the plague of what the Irish call *cóigeachas*, 'provincialism,' in our orthography. We had our dialects, but the scholars I have named ignored them in writing their native Gaelic. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay was a native of Sutherland, but not only in the Highland Society's Dictionary but even in his edition of Rob Donn that scholar was content to abide by the standard orthography of his predecessors. Ewen M'Lachlan was from Lochaber, but no one would know the fact from the 1818 edition of *Ossian*, the proofs of which were corrected by him. Later on we had the misfortune of falling under the sway of very excellent men in their way, but smaller, as I cannot help thinking—such as Neil M'Alpine, James Munro, and John Mackenzie. The two first were good grammarians, and the last had a wide knowledge of Gaelic dialects. But so far as I can judge they did not always use their knowledge for the clearer exposition of the language and the enrichment of its vocabulary and idiom. One cannot help the feeling that they had too often a desire to criticise rivals and to advance particular fads and fancies, while they confidently decided questions of etymology and orthography without having the materials necessary to entitle them to form even an opinion on such matters. M'Alpine can hardly quote Skye usage without adding a point of exclamation, and James Munro would find difficulty in tolerating an idiom which did not pass muster in Lochaber. Of John Mackenzie as a reformer of Gaelic orthography it is enough to say that in his time the knowledge necessary for the task was not available, even allowing that he was in other respects a competent man to make proper use of it.

It is not, however, to these men that we chiefly owe the tendency to the excessive use of localism in the orthography of Scottish Gaelic which threatens to bring our limited literature into disrepute. Irish *cóigeachas* can say something for itself. The provinces are, after all, somewhat wide. Every one has read the saying framed, no doubt, in Connaught :—

Tá blas gan ċeart ag an Muiṁneaċ ;
Tá ceart gan ḃlas ag an Ulltaċ ;
Ní ḟuil ceart ná blas ag an Laiġneaċ ;
Tá ceart agus blas ag an g-Connaċtaċ.

i.e. 'Munster has the accent but not the idiom, Ulster has the idiom but not the accent, Leinster has neither the one nor the other, while Connaught has both.' The *cóigeachas* of Ireland becomes not provincialism among us, for we have only one province. It becomes parochial or insular, and as such contemptible. What gave it stimulus in Scotland in recent years was mainly the example of two men who were in many ways different from those formerly named—men to whom Gaelic literature owes a great debt, and who could by no manner of means be spoken of as small men—John F. Campbell and Sheriff Nicolson. When Mr. Campbell began to collect his *Popular Tales* it was a sound literary instinct that suggested the presentment of them in dialectal form. And he had at least one coadjutor—the late Mr. Hector Maclean—as fit for this work as any available at the time. But even in Maclean's hands the dialects came to grief. The shibboleths of Colonsay—*sean* and *neis* for *sin* and *nis*—are duly set forth. But another phonetic peculiarity of that island—the tendency to gutturalise *dh*—issues in a ludicrous blunder. Maclean wrote the name of the Hero of the Red Shield phonetically from the reciter, *Mac an Earraich* (for *Earraidh*) *Uaine ri Gaisge*, which Mr. Campbell rendered, *à la* Tattersall, 'Son of Green Spring by Valour,' instead of 'The green-clad Youth at his daring deeds.' Curiously enough some of the most distinctive localisms of Campbell and Maclean's native Islay are

overlooked—*dàmh* for *làmh ; uichce* for *uisge ; rìche* and *lèiche* for *rithe* and *leatha.* Many of the Tales were written down by men who were incapable of writing Gaelic correctly on any standard, phonetical or literary, and Mr. Campbell printed them as they came to him. They are thus no reliable guide for the scientific study of Gaelic dialects. There is still less excuse for the plan upon which *Leabhar na Féinne* is printed. To the historical student of Gaelic and Gaelic orthography specimens of carefully-written MSS. of various dates are essential. But in *Leabhar na Féinne,* apart from the extracts from the Dean of Lismore's MS., the unsightly orthography of the MSS. quoted from is of no earthly value except to show the infinite variety and range of bad spelling.

And what of Sheriff Nicolson's admirable *Collection of Proverbs* ? Surely the Proverbs which came to the editor from all quarters and from all ages ought to be presented in the literary form. But no. The learned Sheriff excuses divergency in Gaelic orthography on the plea ' that William Shakespeare spelled his own great name in several ways, and that even Samuel Johnson's English spellings are not all followed now '—a plea which should have been addressed to Englishmen, not to Highlanders. For several of his deviations from the norm in spelling and accent he leans on this authority or that, as if one could possibly frame an original permutation in Gaelic script. For two innovations the author enters a special defence: '*seo* is chosen for *so* because it more correctly represents the sound *sho,* the common pronunciation of the word in the Highlands. For the same reason I have invariably substituted *sid* for *sud,* and *dhaibh* for *dhoibh,* the former being the pronunciation of Inverness-shire, which I naturally preferred to that of Argyllshire.' The genial Sheriff ought to have remembered the shrewd advice of the old judge, ' Give your decision, but not your reasons for it.' As it happens, dhoibh is not heard in Argyll or Inverness, while *sid* and *sud* are used in both counties. And surely if it was necessary to add fifty per

cent. to the length of *so*, in order to represent properly the sound of *s*, thirty per cent. might be ceded to *sid* to secure the same privilege for *d*, for *sid* sounds by our system si*j*; the proper sound would be spelled *siod*.

There is no doubt but that the influence and example of these two men, capable, educated, cultured, of great charm of mind and manner, and of position in society, are largely responsible for recent eccentricities in Gaelic orthography which would have covered us with ridicule if our language was read by educated foreigners and considered worthy of notice. So far as I have observed, the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, our most capable and fertile author beyond the seas, is the only writer among the reformers of Gaelic orthography who has advocated phonetic spelling on a large scale. It is, I think, safe to say that had he lived in this country Mr. Sinclair would not be so sanguine. A phonetic system was powerfully advocated for English a few years ago ; and a strong committee to reform English orthography has recently been set up, with what result it would be profitless to anticipate. But a change in English orthography on a phonetic or other basis would be much easier of accomplishment than in Gaelic. For one thing, there is among educated men a pretty close approach to uniformity of pronunciation in English. Besides, the most ardent reformer of English orthography knows the present norm, and is content to abide by it until a change is agreed upon. Neither of these conditions obtains among us. Mr. Maclean Sinclair might find a competent Gaelic *speller*, but not a representative *speaker* whose sounds would be accepted by his neighbours. Take, *e.g.*, the sound of small-*r*. Over a wide field *ir* or *ri* fairly represents it. But in Tiree and the Outer Isles the sound is rather that of initial *y*. Over the half of Lewis it is a lisped *z*, while in St. Kilda the small-*r* becomes small-*ll*. Not only so. Mr. Sinclair, as it seems to me, has forgotten, like Dr. Stewart before him, that in polysyllabic words the exact sound of a consonant is in Gaelic indicated by

the vowel that follows it, not by that which precedes. He writes, *e.g.*, the personal name Lachlan, *Lachinn.* The broad *ch* sound, unless we overturn our whole system, is here no longer indicated. Further, even *Lach(a)inn* is not the nominative form, but an oblique case, of which the proper nominative, *Lachann*, is not only alive but kicking. Moreover, as the English form shows, *Lachann* itself is but a degraded form of *Lachlann*, also a living form. And, finally, *Lachlann* is but the modern form of the still older, but now disused, *Lochlann.*

No. The way of reform of Gaelic orthography, if it ever comes, does not point in that direction. But pending its arrival each of us can do somewhat to remove the discredit that attaches to present-day usage. Is it too much to ask Gaelic authors to master the present standard before they begin to print? They spell English correctly, pronounce it as they may. Why not be equally accurate in Gaelic ? The standard is theirs, framed at least fifteen hundred years ago, and with specimens still preserved from 700 A.D. downwards. It is surely worthy of our regard, if not of our reverence. Is it too much to ask them to adhere to it, at least in those cases where we all pronounce alike ? And even when our sounds differ, should we not write in the normal way when the norm has living usage to back it ? If we agree to do so, we effect a great deal. For example:

(1) The word *maith* is sounded *math* over a wide district, and one sees it often written so. But *maith* is an *i*-stem, and is sounded *meath* over an equally wide area. The literary form is here the correct form. *Tigh* has invariably the broad-*t* sound, and in some localities an *a* sound follows. In other districts the sound is *o* rather than *a*—toigh rather than taigh. One would say of *tigh* as of *so*, leave ill alone. It is common knowledge that *rd* becomes *rr* among us, so we write nadu*rr*a for nadu*rd*a, with many others. But how many would be ready to extend the phonetic form into such phrases as *da-orr-éug* for *da uair dheug*, *urr h-ais* for *air t'ais*, and so forth ?

(2) We have in Gaelic, because of external influences, raised the oblique case of a large number of nouns and adjectives permanently into the nominative. Where we have all done so, there is no difficulty. We write *beinn*, *cill* and many more instead of the older *be(a)nn*, *ce(a)ll*, just as we write *cas* and that group for the older *cos*, and properly so. But some districts have advanced in this direction farther than others. *Fallain* is the oblique case of *fallan ; gobhainn* of *gobha ;* and *gnothaich* of *gnothach*. The old nominatives of these, as of many others, are still in living use, and ought to be so written.

(3) A comparatively easy sound *-str-* has been substituted, where Norse and English influences predominated, for the more difficult Gaelic *sr*,—*struth* for *sruth* and even *stròin* for *sròn*. The Gaelic forms ought surely to be preferred.

(4) In several cases we have mis-spellings, owing to ignorance of old forms or from false etymologies. In nearly all such cases, Dr. MacBain's *Dictionary* will help to keep us right.

The only limitations of importance that occur to me are these two :

(1) In writing lyric verse the ring of the line must be preserved. The poet will use, and ought to use, not only such double forms as *eun* and *ian*, *beul* and *bial*, but all local sounds that lend grace and melody to his rhymes.

(2) When illustrating dialect, or registering dialectal material for linguistic and historical purposes, not only the words and idioms but the sounds to their minutest shades ought to be recorded with strict accuracy. This is a very different thing from writing down and printing every sound which one hears from an old *cailleach*'s mouth in one form, to be followed by the same sound when heard the next time in a different form, as the untrained invariably do.

If our writers would follow some such mode of procedure as this, the reformers of Gaelic orthography could wait for their Millennium with composure.

THE FIANS OF KNOCKFARREL

(A Ross-shire Legend)

Donald A. Mackenzie.

On steep Knockfarrel had the Fians made,
For safe retreat, a high and strong stockade
Around their dwellings. And when Winter fell
And o'er Strathpeffer laid its barren spell—
When days were bleak with storm, and nights were drear
And dark and lonesome, well they loved to hear
The songs of Ossian peerless and sublime—
Their blind grey bard, grown old before his time
Lamenting for his son—the young, the brave
Oscar who fell beside the western wave
In Gavra's bloody and unequal fight.

Round Ossian would they gather in the night,
Beseeching him for song . . . And when he took
His clarsach, from the magic strings he shook
A maze of trembling music, falling sweet
As mossy waters in the summer heat,
And soft as fainting moor-winds when they leave
The fume of myrtle, on a dewy eve,
Round flushed and teeming tarns that all night hear
Low elfin pipings in the woodlands near—
'Twas thus he sang of love, and in a dream
The fair maids sighed to hear. But when his theme
Was the long chase that Finn and all his men
Followed with lightsome heart from glen to glen—
His song was free as morn, and clear and loud
As skylarks carolling below a cloud
In sweet June weather . . . And they heard the fall
Of mountain streams, the huntsman's windy call
Across the heaving hills, the baying hound
Among the rocks, while echoes answered round—
They heard, and shared the gladness of the chase.

He sang the glories of the Fian race,
Whose fame is flashed through Alba far and wide—
Their valorous deeds he sang with joy and pride, . . .
When their dark foemen from the west came o'er
The rugged hills, and when on Croumba's shore

The Viking hordes descending, fought and fled—
And when in single combat Conn the Red
By one-eyed Goll was slain. Of Finn he sang
And Dermaid, while the clash of conflict rang
In billowy music through the heroes' hall—
And many a Fian gave the battle-call
When Ossian sang.

Haggard and old, with slow
And falt'ring steps, went Winter through the snow
As if its dreary round would ne'er be done—
The last long winter of their days—begun
Ere yet the latest flush of falling leaves
Had faded in the breath of chilling eves;
Nor ended in the days of longer light,
When dawn and eve encroached upon the night—
A weary time it was! The long strath lay
Snow-wreathed and pathless, and from day to day
The tempests raved across the low'ring skies,
And they grew weak and pale, with hollow eyes,
The while their stores shrank low, waiting the dawn
Of that sweet season when through woodlands wan
Fresh flowers flutter and the wild birds sing—
For winter on the forelock of the spring
Its icy fingers laid. The huntsmen pined
In their dim dwellings, wearily confined,
While the loud, hungry tempest held its sway—
The red-eyed wolves grew bold and came by day,
And birds fell frozen in the snow.

Then through
The trackless strath a balmy south-wind blew
To usher lusty spring. Lo! in a night
The snows 'gan shrinking upon plain and height,
And morning broke in brightness to the sound
Of falling waters, while a peace profound
Possessed the world around them and the blue
Bared heaven above. . . . Ah! then with joy each one
Made meek obeisance to the rising sun.

Three days around Knockfarrel they pursued
The chase across the hills and through the wood,
Round Ussie Loch and Dingwall's soundless shore;
But meagre were the burdens that they bore
At even to their dwellings. To the west
They hastened on a drear and bootless quest—
'But sorrow not,' said Finn, when all dismayed

With weary steps they turned to their stockade,
'To-morrow will we hunt towards the east
To high Dunskaith, and then make gladsome feast
By night when we return.'
Or ever morn
Had broken, Finn arose, and on his horn
Blew loud the huntsman's blast that round the ben
Was echoed o'er and o'er. . . . Then all his men
Gathered about him in the dusk, nor knew
What dim forebodings filled his heart and drew
His brows in furrowed care. His eyes agleam
Still stared upon the horrors of a dream
Of evil omen that in vain he sought
To solve. . . . His voice came faint from battling thought
As he to Garry spake—'Be thou the ward,
Strong son of Morna: who, like thee, can guard
Our women from all peril! . . . Garry turned
From Finn in sullen silence, for he yearned
To join the chase once more. In stature he
Was least of all the tribe, but none could be
More fierce in conflict, fighting in the van,
Than that grim, wolfish, and misshapen man!

Then Finn to Caoilte spake and gave command
To hasten forth before the Fian band—
The King of Scouts was he! And like the deer
He sped to find if foemen had come near—
Fierce, swarthy hillmen, waiting at the fords
For combat eager, or red Viking hordes
From out the northern isles. . . . In Alba wide
No runner could keep pace by Caoilte's side.
And ere the Fians, following in his path,
Had wended from the deep and dusky strath,
He swept o'er Clyne, and heard the awesome owls
That hoot afar and near in woody Foulis.
And he had reached the slopes of fair Rosskeen
Ere Finn by Fyrish came.
The dawn broke green—
For the high huntsman of the morn had flung
His mantle o'er his back: stooping, he strung
His silver bow; then rising, bright and bold,
He shot a burning arrow of pure gold
That rent the heart of Night.
As far behind
The Fians followed, Caoilte, like the wind,

Sped on—yon son of Ronan—o'er the wide
And marshy moor, and 'thwart the mountain-side,—
By Delny's shore far-ebbed, and wan, and brown,
And through the woods of beauteous Balnagown,
The roaring streams he vaulted on his spear,
And foaming torrents leapt, as he drew near
The sandy slopes of Nigg. He climbed and ran
Till high above Dunskaith he stood to scan
The outer ocean for the Viking ships,
Peering below his hand, with panting lips
Agape, but wide and empty lay the sea
Beyond the barrier crags of Cromarty,
To the far sky-line lying blue and bare—
For no red pirate sought as yet to dare
The gloomy hazards of the fitful seas,
The gusty terrors, and the treacheries
Of fickle April and its changing skies—
And while he scanned the waves with curious eyes,
The sea-wind in his nostrils, who had spent
A long bleak winter in Knockfarrel pent
Over the snow-wreathed strath and buried wood,
A sense of freedom tingled in his blood—
The large life of the ocean, heaving wide,
His heart possessed with gladness and with pride,
And he rejoiced to be alive. . . . Once more
He heard the drenching waves on that rough shore
Raking the shingles, and the sea-worn rocks
Sucking the brine through bared and lapping locks
Of bright brown tangle, while the shelving ledges
Poured back the swirling waters o'er their edges;
And billows breaking on a precipice
In spouts of spray, fell spreading like a fleece.

Sullen and sunken lay the reef, with sleek
And foaming lips, before the flooded creek,
Deep-bunched with arrowy weed, its green expanse
Wind-wrinkled and translucent. . . . A bright trance
Of sun-flung splendour lay athwart the wide
Blue ocean swept with loops of silvern tide
Heavily heaving in a long slow swell.

A lonely fisher in his coracle
Came round a headland, lifted on a wave
That bore him through the shallows to his cave,
Nor other being he saw.

The birds that flew
Clamorous about the cliffs, and diving drew
Their prey from bounteous waters, on him cast
Cold beady eyes of wonder, wheeling past
And sliding down the wind.

II

The warm sun shone
On blind, grey Ossian musing all alone
Upon a knoll before the high stockade,
When Oscar's son came nigh. His hand he laid
On the boy's curls, and then his fingers strayed
Over the face and round the tender chin—
'Be thou as brave as Oscar, wise as Finn,'
Said Ossian with a sigh. 'Nay, I would be
A bard,' the boy made answer, 'like to thee.'
'Alas! my son,' the gentle Ossian said,
My song was born in sorrow for the dead! . . .
O may such grief as Ossian's ne'er be thine!—
If thou wouldst sing, may thou below the pine
Murmuring, thy dreams conceive, and happy be
Nor hear but sorrow in the breaking sea
And death-sighs on the gale. Alas! my song
That rose in sorrow must survive in wrong—
My life is spent and vain—a day of thine
Were better than a long dark year of mine. . . .
But come, my son—so lead me by the hand—
To hear the sweetest harper in the land—
The wild, free wind of spring; all o'er the hills
And under let us go, by tuneful rills
We 'll wander, and my heart shall sweetened be
With echoes of the moorland melody,—
My clarsach wilt thou bear.' And so went they
Together from Knockfarrel. Long they lay
Within the woods of Brahan, and by the shore
Of silvery Conon wended, crossing o'er
The ford at Achilty, where Ossian told
The tale of Finn who there had slain the bold
Black Arky in his youth. And ere the tale
Was ended they had crossed to Tarradale,
Where dwelt a daughter of an ancient race,
Deep-learned in lore and with the gift to trace
The thread of life in the dark web of fate.
And she to Ossian cried, 'Thou comest late,
Too late, alas! this day of all dark days—

Knockfarrel is before me all ablaze—
A fearsome vision flaming to mine eyes—
O beating heart that bleeds! I hear the cries
Of those that perish in yon high stockade—
O many a tender lad, and lonesome maid,
Sweet wife and sleeping babe and hero old—
O Ossian, couldst thou see—O child, behold
Yon ruddy closing clouds . . . so falls the fate
Of all the tribe . . . alas! thou comest late.' . . .

III

When Ossian from Knockfarrel went, a band
Of merry maidens, trooping hand in hand,
Came forth, with laughing eyes and flowing hair,
To share the freedom of the morning air;
Adown the steep they went, and through the wood
Where Garry splintered logs in sullen mood—
Pining to join the chase! His wrath he wrought
Upon the trees that morn, as if he fought
Against a hundred foemen from the west,
Till he grew weary and was fain to rest.

The maids were wont to shower upon his head
Their merry taunts, and oft from them he fled;
For of their quips and jests he had more fear
Than e'er he felt before a foeman's spear—
And so he chose to be alone.
The air
Was heavily laden with the odour rare
Of deep wind-shaken fir-trees, breathing sweet,
As through the wood the maids with silent feet
Went treading needled sward, in light and shade,
Now bright, now dim, like flow'rs that gleam and fade,
And ever bloom and ever pass away. . . .

Upon a fairy hillock Garry lay
In sunshine fast asleep: his head was bare,
And the wind rippling through his golden hair
Laid out the seven locks that were his pride,
Which one by one the maids securely tied
To tether-pins, while Garry, breathing deep,
Moaned low and moved about in troubled sleep.
Then to a thicket all the maidens crept,
And raised the Call of Warning. . . . Garry leapt

From dreams that boded ill, with sudden fear
That a fierce band of foemen had come near—
The seven fetters of his golden hair
He wrenched off as he leapt, and so laid bare
A shredded scalp of ruddy wounds that bled
With bitter agony. . . . The maidens fled
With laughter through the wood, and climbed the path
Of steep Knockfarrel. Fierce was Garry's wrath
When he perceived who wrong'd him. With a shriek,
That raised the eagles from the mountain peak,
He shook his spear, and ran with stumbling feet,
And sought for vengeance speedy and complete—
The lust of blood possessed him, and he swore
To slay them. . . . But they shut the oaken door
Ere he had reached that high and strong stockade—
From whence, alas! nor wife, nor child, nor maid
Came forth again.

IV

Soft-couched upon a bank
Lay Caoilte on the cliff-top, while he drank
The sweetness of the morning air, that brought
A spell of dreamful ease and pleasant thought,
With mem'ries from the deeps of other years
When Dermaid, unforgotten by his peers,
And Oscar, fair and young, went forth with mirth
A-hunting o'er the hills around the firth
On such an April morn. . . .

He leapt to hear
The Fians shouting from a woodland near
Their hunting-call. Then swift he sped apace,
With bounding heart, to join the gladsome chase;
Stooping he ran, with poised, uplifted spear,
As through the woods approached the nimble deer
That swerved beholding him. With startled toss
Of antlers down the slope it fled, to cross
The open vale before him. . . . To the west,
The Fians, merging from the woodland, pressed
To head it shoreward. . . . All the fierce dogs bayed
With hungry ardour, and the deer, dismayed,
With foaming nostrils leapt, and strove to flee
Towards the deep, dark woods of Calrossie,
But Caoilte, fresh from resting, was more fleet,

Than deer or dogs, and sped with naked feet,
Until upon a loose and sandy bank,
Plunging his spear into the smoking flank,
Its flight he stayed. . . . He stabbed it as it sank,
The life-blood spurting; and he saw it die
Or ever dog or huntsman had come nigh.

Then eager feast they made; and after long
And frequent fast of winter, they grew strong
As they had been of old. And of their fare
The lean and scrambling hounds had ready share.

Nor over-fed they in their merry mood,
But set to hunt again, and through the wood
Scattered with eager pace, ere yet the sun
Had climbed to highest noon; for lo! each one
Had mem'ry of the famished cheeks and white
Of those who waited their return by night,
In steep Knockfarrel's desolate stockade—
Oh, many a beauteous and betrothèd maid
And mothers nursing babes, and warriors lying
In winter-fever's spell, the old men dying,
And slim fair lads who waited to acclaim,
With gladsome shout, the huntsmen when they came
With burdens of the chase. . . . So they pursued
The hunt till eve was nigh. In Geanies wood
Another deer they slew. . . .

Caoilte who stood
On a high ridge alone . . . with eager eyes
Scanning the prospect wide . . . in mute surprise
Saw rising o'er Knockfarrel a dark cloud
Of thick and writhing smoke. . . . Then fierce and loud
Upon his horn he blew the warning blast—
From out the woods the Fians hastened fast—
Lo! when they stared towards the western sky,
They saw their winter-dwelling blazing high.

Then fear possessed them for their own, and grief
Unutterable. And thus spake their wise chief,
To whom came knowledge and the swift sure thought—
'Alas! alas! An enemy hath wrought
Black vengeance on our kind. In yonder gleam
Of fearsome flame, the horrors of my dream
Are now accomplished—all we loved and cherished,
And sought, and fought for, in that pyre hath perished!

White-lipped they heard. . . . Then, wailing loud, they ran,
Following the nimble Caoilte man by man,
Towards Knockfarrel; leaping on their spears
O'er marsh and stream. MacReithin, blind with tears,
Tumbled or leapt into a swollen flood
That swept him to the sea. But no man stood
To help or mourn him, for the eve grew dim—
And some there were indeed who envied him.

V

As snarls the wolf at bay within the wood
Or huntsmen and their hounds, so Garry stood
Raging before the women who had made
Secure retreat within the high stockade;
He cursed them all, and their loud laughter rang
More bitter to his heart than e'en the pang
Of his fierce wounds. Then while his streaming blood
Half blinded him, he hastened to the wood,
And a small tree upon his shoulders bore,
And fixed it fast against the oaken door,
That none might issue forth.

Then once again
Towards the wood he turned, but all in vain
The women waited his return till they
Grew weary, for in pain and wrath he lay
In a close thicket, brooding o'er his shame,
And panting for revenge.

Then Finn's wife came
To set the women to the wheel and loom,
With angry chiding; and a heavy gloom
Fell on them all. 'Who knoweth,' thus she spake,
'What evil may the Fian men o'ertake
This day of evil omens. Yester-night
I saw the pale ghost of my sire with white
And trembling lips. . . . At morn before my sight
A raven darted from the wood and slew
A brooding dove. . . . What fear is mine! . . . for who
Would us defend if our fierce foemen came—
When Garry is against us. . . . Much I blame
Your wanton deed.' . . . The women heard in shame
Nor answer made.

The sun with fiery gleam
Scattered the feath'ry clouds, as in a dream
The spirits of the dead are softly swept
From severed visions sweet. A low wind crept
Around with falt'ring steps, and, pausing, sighed—
Then fled to murmur from the mountain-side
Amid the pine-tree shade; while all aglow
Ben Wyvis bared a crest of shining snow
In barren splendour o'er the slumbering strath;
While some sat trembling, fearing Garry's wrath,
Some feared the coming of the foe, and some
Had vague forebodings and were brooding dumb,
And longed to greet the huntsmen. Mothers laid
Their babes to sleep, and many a gentle maid
Sighed for her lover in that lone stockade;
And one who sat apart with pensive eye,
Thus sang to hear the peewee's plaintive cry:—

Peewee, peewee, crying sweet,
Crying early, crying late—
Will your voice be never weary
Crying for your mate?
Other hearts than thine are lonely,
Other hearts must wait.

Peewee, peewee, I'd be flying
O'er the hills and o'er the sea,
Till I found the love I long for,
Wheresoe'er he'd be—
Peewee crying, I'd be flying,
Could I fly like thee!

When Garry, who had stanched his wounds, arose
He seized his axe, and 'gan with rapid blows
To fell down fir-trees. Through the silent strath
The hollow echoes rang. With fiendish wrath
He made resolve to heap the splintered wood
Against the door, and burn the hated brood
Of his tormentors one and all. He hewed
An ample pyre, then piled it thick and high,
While the sun sloping to the western sky
Proclaimed the closing of that fateful day.
But the doomed women little dreamed that they
Would have such fearsome end. . . . As Garry lay

Rubbing the fire-sticks till they 'gan to glow
He heard a Fian mother singing low—

Sleep, O sleep, I'll sing to thee—
Moolachie, O moolachie,
Sleep, O sleep, like yon grey stone,
Moolachie, mine own.

Sleep, O sleep, nor sigh nor fret ye,
And the goblins will not get ye,
I will shield ye, I will pet ye—
Moolachie, mine own.

The mother sang; the gentle babe made moan—
And Garry heard them with a heart of stone. . . .
With fiendish laugh, he saw the leaping flames
Possess the pyre; and heard the shrieking dames
And maids and children, wailing in the gloom
Of smothering smoke, e'er they had met their doom.
Then when the high stockade was blazing red,
Ere yet their cries were silenced, Garry fled
And westward o'er the shouldering hills he sped.

VI

A broad faint twilight lingered to unfold
The sun's slow-dying beams of tangled gold,
And the long, billowy hills, in gathering shade,
Their naked peaks and ebon crags displayed
Sharp-rimmed against the tender heaven and pale;
And misty shadows gathered in the vale—
When Caoilte to Knockfarrel came, and saw
Amid the dusk, with sorrow and with awe,
The ruins of their winter dwelling laid
In smouldering ashes; while the high stockade
Around the rocky wall, like ragged teeth,
Was crackling o'er the melting stones beneath,
Still darting flame, and flickering in the breeze.

He sped towards the wood, and through the trees
Called loud for those who perished. On his fair
And gentle spouse he called in his despair,
His sweet son, and his sire, whose hair was white
As Wyvis snow, he called for in the night.
Full loud and long across the Strath he cried—
The echoes mocked him from the mountain-side.

Ah! when his last hope faded like the wave
Of twilight ebbing o'er the hills, he gave
His heart to utter grief and deep despair;
And the cold stars peered down with pitiless stare,
While sank the wind in silence on its flight
Through the dark hollows of the spacious night;
And distant sounds seemed near. In his dismay
He heard a Fian calling far away.
The night-bird answered back with dismal cry,
Like to a wounded man about to die—
But Caoilte's lips were silent. . . . Once again
And nearer, came the voice that cried in vain,
Then swift steps climbed Knockfarrel's barren steep,
And Alvin called, with trembling voice and deep,
To Caoilte, crouching low with bended head,
'Who liveth?' . . . 'I am here alone,' he said. . . .
Thus Fian after Fian came to share
Their bitter grief, in silence and despair.

All night they kept lone watch, until the dawn
With stealthy fingers o'er the east had drawn
Its dewy veil and dim. Then Finn arose
From deep and sleepless brooding o'er his woes,
And spake unto the Fians, 'Who shall rest
While flees our evil foeman farther west?—
Arise!' . . . 'But who hath done this deed?' they sighed.
And Finn made answer, 'Garry.' . . . Then they cried
For vengeance swift and terrible and leapt
To answer Finn's command.

A cold wind swept
From out the gates of morning, moaning loud,
As swift they hastened forth. A ragged shroud
Of gathering tempest o'er Ben Wyvis cast
A sudden gloom, and round it, falling fast,
It drifted o'er the darkened slopes and bare,
And snow-flakes swirled in the chill morning air.—
Then o'er the sea the sun leapt large and bright,
Scattering the storm. And moor and crag lay white
As westward o'er the hills the Fians all
In quest of Garry sped.

At even-fall
They found him. . . . On the bald and rocky side
Of steep Scour Vullin Garry lay to hide
Within a cave, which, backward o'er the snow,

He entered, that his steps might seem to show
He had fled eastward by the path he came.
All day he sought to flee them in his shame,
Watching from lofty crag or deep ravine,
And crouching in the heath with haggard mein—
He sought in vain to hide till darkness cast
Its blinding cloak betwixt them.

When at last
Finn cried, 'Come forth thou dog of evil deeds,
Nor respite seek!' . . . His limbs like windy reeds
Trembled and bent beneath him, as he rose
And came to meet his friends who were his foes.
Then unto Finn he spake with accents meek,
'One last request I of the Fians seek,
Whom I have loved in peace and served in strife.'—
''Tis thine,' said Finn, 'but ask not for thy life,
For thou art 'mong the Fians.' . . . 'I would die,'
Said Garry, 'with my head laid on thy thigh;
And let young Alvin take thy sword that he
May give the death that will mine honour be.'
'Twas so he lay to die. . . . But as the blade
Swept bright, young Alvin, keen for vengeance, swayed
And slipped upon the sward. . . . And his fierce blow
That Garry slew, the Fian chief laid low.—
A grievous wound was gaping on his thigh
And poured his life-blood forth. . . . A low, weird cry
The great Finn gave as he fell back and swooned.—
In vain they strove to stanch the fearsome wound.—
His life ebbed slowly with the sun's last ray
In gathering gloom. . . . And when in death he lay,
The glory of the Fians passed away.

AN OUTLINE OF BRETON HISTORY

YVONNE JOSSE

After the French of M. DE CALAN

BRITTANY is a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the sea. It is the sea that has made the Breton type. It is the sea that, from time to time, has given trade, and through trade a little wealth, to a country whose granitic and

schistous soil, of but moderate fertility, adapted itself only to a pastoral agriculture none too lavish in its return for labour. One could almost say that it is incessant contact with the sea that has turned the aspirations of the Breton soul towards the wide and limitless realm of imagination. In any case nothing can better picture our generally quiet and sometimes passionate race than the great deep which, under a deceptive calm, so often hides violent commotion.

At a time the date of which is not known, our country was inhabited by savages living on fishing and hunting, and having splintered stones for their only tools and arms. Little by little strangers came from the eastern countries—people who reared cattle and understood agriculture. Their arms and tools were mostly of polished stone. Later on, foreign trade brought them a few metal articles, either of bronze or of gold. Nothing is known about the history of those men—not even their name and the language they spoke. We can say, however, that if they were not civilised they were not savages. They buried their dead in funeral chambers made of flat stones—dolmens—and covered with sand or gravel so as to form tumuli. On the tombs and in places where notable events had taken place, where we now put up crosses, they erected huge stones—the menhirs—in homage to the gods; more than one thousand of these monuments are to be seen in Brittany. Four or five hundred years B.C., Brittany, with the whole of Gaul, was conquered by the Celts. These were warriors organised in bands or clans, at the heads of which were the chiefs or kings. They knew iron, and used it to make their arms and tools. At regular intervals of time the land belonging to each clan was divided among the families of the clan, but the parts of the kings and nobles were nearly always the same. No people of antiquity believed in the immortality of the soul more firmly than the Celts. In religious matters they obeyed the members of an organisation which had the monopoly of science and instruction, and in case of war interposed between the rival clans between which the

country was divided. These Celts spoke nearly the same tongue as that the Irish, Welsh and Bretons are now speaking.

In the year 57 B.C. the Romans invaded Gaul. Brittany was then inhabited by several clans called Armoricans—people living near the sea. Part of Maine and Normandy was also inhabited by the Amoricans; their capital was Vannes. Those clans were related to the Celts who lived in the part of Gaul situated between the Seine and the Rhine, and also to the Celts who were in Britain. In 56, Cæsar, at the head of the Romans, made a victorious expedition against them. Their confederate fleet was destroyed near Vannes. Notwithstanding, they went on with the fight for five years, and were the very last to submit to the Romans. The Celtic tongue disappeared as a result of the Roman conquest. Four centuries afterwards the inhabitants spoke only Latin. The Romans substituted the individual property of the rich landowners for the collective property of the clan. The country had no roads, and they made some; there were no towns, and they built some. At that time Nantes, Vannes, Rennes were created. In the third century A.D., Christianity was preached to the Armoricans. Nantes was the first town to be evangelised. Two brothers, Tonatien and Rogatien, were martyred during the first persecution. When Constantine gave the Christians liberty for their religion, bishoprics were founded in Brittany at Nantes, Rennes and Vannes.

Towards the middle of the fifth century, when Gaul was invaded and conquered by barbarians of Germanic race, Armorica on the contrary received emigrants of Celtic race. They came from the island of Britain, and had been conquered by the Romans, but not Latinised by them as were the Celts of Gaul. The Britons had kept their habits, their traditions, and their language. Armorica became Celtic again, and was called Brittany. The emigrations of the Britons were caused by the ravages of the Angles and Saxons, pagan barbarians of Germanic race, who, after

many centuries of war, conquered and subdued the whole island of Britain. Many of the Britons who wanted to keep their Faith and their independence were obliged to seek refuge elsewhere. They had been defeated, but these vanquished ones were courageous and did not accept the consequences of their defeat. They were neither rejected nor absorbed by the inhabitants of the country to which they had fled. Instead, the Britons gave them their own political and religious organisation, and also their traditions. One part of the territory, even, was so Brythonicised that the Breton language took the place of Latin. For more than a century these emigrants continued to land in Armorica in small bands, having at their heads either laymen or religious chiefs. The territories in which the former settled took the names of the bands, and were called ' plous ' or ' trefs ' ; or the religious chiefs took them as dominions, and they were then called ' lans.' The Breton emigrants did not inhabit all the country now called Brittany. Towards the west they did not go farther than a line running from the mouth of the Couesnon to the mouth of the Loire, through Roz, Combourg, Tinteniae and Montfort—where it follows the Meu and the Vilaine up to the confluence of the Semnon, only taking in the right side of the river—Pleuchatel and Messac. From there by Guemene, Guenrouet and Cambon the line goes to Montoir and the banks of the river. At the west of that line some cantons, specially Vannes and its neighbourhood, did not submit to the invaders. On the left bank of the Loire, Paimbœuf, Corsept, Pornic, St. Brevin, St. Viaud, there are most certain evidences of the Breton colonisation that went as far as the Anglo-Norman islands (Jersey, Guernsey, etc.), the Norman canton of St. Hilaire du Harcouet, and the Manceau canton of Landivy. In the Middle Ages Mont St. Michel was looked upon as Breton territory.

Armorica, consequently, was inhabited both by the Bretons and the Gallo-Romans ; the last were faithful subjects of the Frankish, Merovingian, or Carlovingian

kings, who were reigning in Gaul. The others were divided into small kingdoms made by the union of ' plous ' or ' lans.' —In the north, Domnonee ; in the west, Leon, Poher, Cornouailles ; and in the south, Broerec'h. The chiefs of these small dominions were quite independent, and were frequently at war with one another. They recognised in a certain measure the authority of the Frankish kings, and irregularly paid them some sort of tribute, although from time to time they were at war with them. Conomor of Poher was defeated and killed by Judicaël of Domnonee, whom he had driven away from his kingdom, and who got it back by the help of the Frankish king Childebert. Conobert de Broerec'h was defeated and killed by the troops of the Frankish king Clotaire (560). Waroch made war upon Chilperic, and Judicaël upon Dagobert. Charlemagne's armies made three victorious expeditions into Brittany—786, 799, and 811—and his son, Louis le Débonnaire, repressed the two revolts of Morvon and Guiomarc'h—812 and 824. The Bretons, who had no share in the revolts, took a great part in the wars of Charlemagne with the Armoricans. It was with soldiers of our country that Ogier Roland and Gondebœuf became illustrious. The older Armoricans and the Bretons had quite different religious organisations. The former obeyed a secular clergy. Their great saints were bishops—Clair and Similien at Nantes, Patern at Vannes, Melaine at Rennes. The Bretons obeyed regular clergy living in abbeys formed of small cells, where each monk spent the greatest part of his time in solitude. Their great saints were abbots—Brieuc, Guénolé, and Armel—or, less frequently, hermits, like Efflam, Ronan, Goneri.

Brittany, as we know it to-day, was constituted by the Breton chief Nomenoe towards the middle of the ninth century. Nomenoe was at first an imperial functionary entrusted by Louis le Débonnaire with the command of his countrymen ; but in 840, when he saw the sons of the late king divide the Frankish empire between themselves, he thought he was no longer obliged to respect a unity others

d d not respect. In 843, consequently, he took arms. E is victories, and the victories of his son Erispoé and his n ephew Salomon, obliged Charles le Chauve to recognise t ıe independence of Brittany, and to give the Breton kings a l the country round Nantes, Rennes, Avranches and C outances, as well as parts of Maine, Anjou and Poitou. A t Redon, and at Lehon near Dinan, new monasteries were f ounded. Like the Frankish monasteries, those of Brittany, c ld and new, obeyed Saint Benedict's rule, and eventually t he Breton church adopted the religious organisation of the F rankish church, with clearly defined dioceses and parishes p rincipally ministered to by secular clergy. There were at that time nine bishoprics in Brittany—Nantes, Rennes, Vannes, Quimper, Saint Pol, Treguier, Saint Brieuc, Saint Malo and Dol. The Breton kings tried to make an archbishopric of Dol, but without success.

Brittany at that time was independent and prosperous, and arts and belles-lettres began to make rapid advance. They had progressed but little, however, before they began to wither beneath the ravages of the Northmen. Those pagan pirates from Denmark and Norway sailed up the rivers, burning everything on their way, and generally falling upon the monasteries, whose riches tempted their cupidity. The Bretons were unable to defend themselves successfully, for upon Salomon's death in 847 Brittany was again divided into petty kingdoms, independent of each other and weakened by civil wars. In vain did Alain, Comte de Vannes, win a great victory in 890. At the very beginning of the tenth century, a few years after the settlement of a band of Northmen in the part of the country which, after them, was named Normandy, another band settled at the mouth of the Loire, and from there oppressed the whole of Brittany. Many noble families sought shelter in France and in England. The monks deserted their abbeys, and fled with the relics of their saints to Paris, Picardy, Burgundy, and everywhere where a shelter was offered them. The dominion of the pirates lasted more than

twenty-five years. The first attempt at enfranchisement did not succeed. It was only in 936 that emigrants returning to Brittany united their efforts with those of the Bretons who had remained in their country, and after a war which lasted for some three years the Northmen were completely driven out. Alain Barbe Torte, Comte de Nantes, and Berengier, Comte de Rennes, were the heroes of the deliverance of their country.

After the Northmen had been expelled, war broke out between Alain and Berengier, each of them wanting the other to recognise him as sovereign. Their successors continued that war for more than a century. The neighbouring princes availed themselves of the unrest to try to impose their suzerainty upon the Breton chiefs. Robert, Duke of Normandy, obliged Alain, Comte de Rennes, to do him homage, and the Comtes d'Anjou obtained a similar mark of dependence from the Comtes de Nantes.

The unity of Brittany was only re-established when Havoïse, heiress to the Comtes de Rennes, married Hoël, Comte de Cornouailles et de Nantes. But the invasion and the civil wars had favoured the ambition of the neighbours of Brittany, and had allowed them to extend themselves at her expense. Only the territories of Rennes and Nantes, and parts of Poitou and the Pays de Retz were left to the Bretons of all their conquests of the ninth century. In that part, at least, the existence of a nobility of Breton race preserved for the country the Breton spirit if not the Breton tongue and customs. Alain Fergent (1084-1112), son of Hoël and Havoïse, was a strong monarch : he repressed the revolts of the great lords ; he defeated the Duke of Normandy who had invaded Brittany ; and he had a great share in the recovery of the Holy Land from the Saracens. He died, a monk, in the monastery at Redon. Brittany was then a feudal country ; that is to say, the land belonged to great lords on whom depended a numerous gentry having free peasants as farmers—for Brittany is one of the provinces of France where villainage was most promptly abolished.

Husbandry was the greatest resource of the inhabitants. Manufactures had not as yet been developed very extensively, though several small towns carried on a very considerable trade with foreign countries.

After the Northmen had been expelled, many old abbeys rose up from their ruins—Landevennec, Saint Gildas, Redon, etc. Others were founded in the twelfth century, to clear the uncultivated lands, such as those of the Cistercians at Begar, St. Aubin de Bois, etc.; and others to help the secular clergy in the parishes, such as those of the Augustins and Prémontres at Beauport, Beaulieu, etc. More than forty abbeys for men and two for women were thus founded.

Brittany had then great literary importance. Abelard, the greatest French philosopher of the Middle Ages; Adam de Saint Victor, the greatest poet in the Romance language; and Guillaume le Breton, one of the greatest epic poets in the same language, were all Bretons. The laments our poets had composed for the Armorican bishops, companions of Charles Martel—Amile, Moran, etc. —for the companions in arms of Pépin and Charlemagne—Ogier, Roland; about the heroes of the war of independence —Erispöe, Salomon, etc.—served as topics for the great poems the French called '*Chansons de Geste.*' The marvellous tales of King Arthur, his knights and the prophet Merlin, which the Bretons had brought back from their stay in Britain in the tenth century, and made so popular all over France, were the beginning of the '*Romans de la Table Ronde.*'

Brittany thus became a country of legends—the scene of fantastic or edifying stories, but never of those humorous or obscene tales called '*Fabliaux.*' That did not prevent the French of that time from laughing at the Bretons, whom they liked to represent as a foolish and clownish people.

Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the independence of Brittany was seriously threatened. Henry, Comte d'Anjou, had become King of England, Comte de

Poitou, and Duc de Gascogne, and his dominions surrounded Brittany on all sides. He insisted on the marriage of his son Geoffrey to Constance, heiress to Conan the Fourth, who, too weak to refuse, gave his consent. Henry governed Brittany very roughly till his son's coming of age, but the prince died young ; and his son Arthur, hope of the Bretons, was made a prisoner by his uncle, John Lackland, King of England, in 1202, when he was but fifteen years old. He died in prison, and it is almost certain he was murdered. His sister Alix married a relation of the French King—Pierre, second son to the Comte de Dreux.

The Dreux dynasty gave Brittany four princes, who in 1297 received the title of Duke : they wore the closed crown like kings, and swore fidelity to the Kings of France standing and without bowing. Under their reign the country had a century of prosperity and peace. The love of learning spread throughout Brittany, and several colleges were founded in Paris for the Bretons who went there to study. Saint Ives lived at that time, and his knowledge and virtue edified and were the admiration of everybody. New religious orders—the Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Carmelites—settled themselves in our province—not in the country, like the other orders, but in the towns, where they gave themselves up to preaching and charitable works.

In 1341, at the death of Jean III., a terrible civil war broke out between Jeanne, the daughter of his second brother, and his third brother Jean, Comte de Montfort, who both pretended to the right to succeed him. The war lasted more than twenty years, and covered Brittany with blood and ruin. Jeanne had married Charles de Blois, nephew to Philippe VI., King of France ; and as Charles was helped by his uncle, Jean de Montfort called the English king to his assistance. The strife was desperate. The successive captivity of the two chiefs (Jean was made prisoner at Nantes, Charles at the battle of Auray) did not discourage their followers. The English ravaged the country so much that a Breton leader, Jean de Beaumanoir,

challenged thirty of their knights to a pitched combat, and with twenty-nine of his companions utterly vanquished them. That was the ever-famous 'Combat des Trente.' At last Charles de Blois was defeated and killed at the battle of Auray, and all Brittany recognised Jean IV., son of Jean de Montfort, as its duke.

That prince cared only for England. When the Bretons found that he wanted to go to war with France they sent him away, but when they saw that the French wanted to take advantage of their action in order to take Brittany for themselves, they all agreed to call their Duke back again. His son, Jean V., profited by the lesson. He was neither French nor English, but Breton, and while war ravaged France, Brittany (being at peace and well governed) became rich with the fruits of industry, and the trade in cloth and linen. Churches and castles were built everywhere. A university was created at Nantes in 1461, and Brittany became one of the countries where printing found its earliest home.

The awful civil war that had just taken place in Brittany had made the Bretons the best soldiers of their time. The Kings of France took them into their service and gave them high places. Duguesclin, Clisson, Richemont were Connétables, Coetivy was an Admiral, and Duchâtel Grand Maître de la Maison du Roi. The English, who at two different times had conquered half of France, were expelled in the fourteenth century by Duguesclin and in the fifteenth by Richemont.

François II., nephew of Jean V., blundered into all the intrigues against France that were set afoot during the reign of Louis XI. and the minority of Charles VIII. The Breton nobility, whose sympathy and interests were bent towards France, were discontented with his anti-French policy, and in the end he found himself alone, without friends or help and deserted by his subjects. He left his daughter Anne, but twelve years old, a contested authority and an invaded territory.

The patriots entreated the princess to marry a great lord, Breton or French, who would have become the head of a new dynasty. The anti-French party who surrounded her succeeded in engaging her to the German Emperor, Maximilian, but he did not send the Duchess any help, and Brittany was soon entirely in the hands of the French. The king, Charles VIII., very well understood that to make his conquest a lasting one he had to make it legal in the eyes of the Bretons. In 1491 he asked the Duchess Anne to marry him, and she accepted.

Charles VIII. died without children, and, as had been arranged, Anne married his successor. When she died in 1514, having only two daughters—the eldest of whom, Claude, was married to François I., successor of Louis XII.—Brittany was united to France, but only in a provisional manner. As the laws governing the succession to the throne were not the same in the two countries, it was possible that the heir to one might not be the heir to the other. Consequently it was advantageous for the French to change that provisional and personal union into a lasting one. On their side, the Bretons had the advantage that the French king could not now pretend to regard himself as the proprietor of Brittany; he no longer held his right from his ancestors, but from the will of the representatives of the people. He was bound by a contract, the clauses of which he was under obligation to respect. The union was thus voted by the States of Brittany meeting at Vannes in 1532, and the king promised, among other things, never to change any of the customs of Brittany without the consent of the deputies.

Though now a French province, Brittany retained the sentiment of her historical and social originality, thanks to the works of her historians and jurisconsults, of whom the most renowned was D'Argentré. Brittany, once joined to France, took her part in the glories and misfortunes of the Italian wars. At the sea-battle of the 10th of August 1512, the Breton captain, Porzmoguer, rendered himself illustrious

by his heroic death. During those wars the Spanish and the English several times came to ravage our coasts. In 1522 the English plundered Morlaix, and in 1558 they were defeated on the sands of the Conquet. The Bretons played a preponderating part in the geographical discoveries of the sixteenth century. In 1504 a fleet, chiefly composed of Breton ships, discovered Newfoundland, and a Breton sailor, Jean Cartier, discovered Canada in 1534.

Protestantism made but few recruits in Brittany—a hundred noble families, a few magistrates, and some gentry. The Catholics were very tolerant towards them, and the Protestants suffered few vexations: they were not the victims of any massacre, even at the feast of Saint Barthélemy, 1572. They consequently revolted only in one or two districts, and for the most part the religious wars that desolated France spared Brittany.

Everything changed when Henry III. died in 1589. His successor, Henry IV., was a Protestant. He was helped by his co-religionists and by those among the Catholics who thought a difference of religion was not sufficient to exclude the rightful heir from the throne. The Bretons, however, Catholics before everything else, united to resist the new king, with the Duke of Mercœur, governor of the province, at their head. Some among them, who wanted to be governed only by descendants of their former dukes, and who would not accept Henry IV. for that reason, sought to establish as their duchess the daughter of the King of Spain, niece to Henry III., and great-granddaughter of the Duchess Anne. The war lasted more than nine years. It was a succession of petty battles, of taking and re-taking of towns and castles, that did all the more harm to the country because several commanders on both sides, such as the Protestant Du Liscouet and the Catholic La Fontenelle, were sheer brigands, who, under the pretence of religion, sought only to release friends and to hold enemies to ransom. And the foreigners called in to help the two parties —the Spanish by the Catholics and the English by the

Protestants—followed their example without scruple. When Henry IV. renounced Protestantism in 1593 many Ligueurs joined him, but Mercœur and his partisans submitted to him only in 1598.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Bretons continued to take their part in the events of French life. Guebriant and Coetlogon were made Marechaux de France ; but above all the Breton sailors—Duguay-Trouin, Cassard, Guichen, Cornic, La Motte-Picquet, etc.—distinguished themselves by their ability and intrepidity. Enemies made several attempts to carry war into Brittany, but none of their attempts to land succeeded. The English were defeated in 1694 at Camaret, and in 1758 at Saint Cast. New religious congregations came to settle in Brittany during these centuries—the Jesuits, Ursulines, etc. They were nearly all teaching orders. Brittany was, in fact, the cradle of several of these congregations—les Filles du Saint Esprit, for example. Thanks to the apostolic zeal of Le Nobletz, Maunoir, etc., and to the missions and retreats they organised, religious sentiment attained extraordinary intensity in our country. As in the other provinces, there were then in Brittany artists and learned men. Le Sage was one of the greatest French novelists. Fréron, creator of journalism, was one of the few writers who dared to pit himself against Voltaire.

Our country was then governed by a military functionary called the Gouverneur-General or Commandant-en-Chef, and by a civil functionary, l'Intendant. The taxes were voted by the ' Etats de Bretagne,' composed of the three orders : the clergy, that is to say, the bishops, the abbots, and deputies of the canons ; the nobility, that is, the lords ; and the Tiers-Etat, composed of representatives of about forty towns. The parish clergy and the peasants were not represented. Between the Government, who always wanted money, and the States, who did their best to give the least possible, the conflicts were unceasing. The nobility, the most independent of the three orders, were the leaders of

the opposition. Very seldom did a session end without the exclusion or the imprisonment of one of the members. Things grew worse in the eighteenth century, when the magistrates of Brittany aided the States in their resistance. In 1719, the alliance of the malcontents with the King of Spain against the French Regent, brought about proceedings against Pontcallec and several other gentlemen, and later on—in 1720—their execution. In 1765 the coalition of the States and the Parliament against the Commandant-in-Chief, the Duke d'Aiguillon, exasperated the Government so much that the king imprisoned six magistrates, Procureur-General la Chalotais amongst them. They were dragged from jurisdiction to jurisdiction without anything being proved against them, and the Government ended by ordering them to live in different towns and keeping close watch on them.

In the seventeenth century the States had contented themselves with discussing in the utmost detail the amount of the taxes voted by them. In the eighteenth they decided to profit by the distress of the Government to establish, in opposition to it, an administration belonging to themselves, and to vote taxes only on condition that they would be gathered in by their agents, and used by the latter under their superintendence. It was thus that the 'Commissions Intermédiaires' were created.

These conflicts between the French Government and the Breton nation seldom resulted in riots. In 1665, however, a tax upon tobacco and tin plates and the 'papier timbré,' having been established without the approval of the States, brought about serious disturbances in several towns. The peasants of Cornouailles rose in a body; and as the gentry were not willing to take the lead they turned their anger against them, and the insurrection became a 'jacquerie,' promptly and severely repressed.

The States of Brittany were strongly imbued with national feeling, and they helped the Benedictine Lobineau to write a history of Brittany which served as a model for

those written later on in the different provinces. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the three orders were united for the defence of the privileges of Brittany, but in 1788, when the burst of civil, political and social unrest that ended with the Revolution appeared in France, the Breton townsmen, finding their influence in the States too small, claimed representation according to their proportionate number among the population. It was a throwing over of the old principles by which it was not the men but the general interests, the group, that were represented. The clergy and nobility refused to make any concessions. The townsmen grew excited. Fighting took place in the streets at Rennes, and the Government dissolved the States, never to call them together again.

In their place the ' Assemblée Nationale,' made up of all the French deputies, met in Paris, and departments took the place of the provinces. Brittany was divided into five departments : Ille-et-V ilaine, Loire-Inférieure, Cotes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Finistère. The departments were divided into districts and communes governed by elected assemblies like the departments themselves. The Breton deputies played a great part at the beginning of the Revolution. One of them, Chapelier, was made president of the ' Assemblée Nationale.' Once they had obtained a measure of liberal and democratic reform they tried to prevent the movement from degenerating into the bloody anarchy of *La Terreur.* The greater part of them voted against Louis XVI.'s death, but they were overruled. Some of them were put in prison ; others, like Le Hardy, had their heads cut off ; and others, like Languinois and Kervelegan, escaped only with the greatest difficulties.

The ' Assemblée Constituante ' now voted a law on the organisation of the clergy that ignored the rights of the Pope, and in the eyes of the faithful tainted the French Church with schism. Most of the bishops and priests refused to obey that law. The Government expelled them from their dioceses and parishes, and finally exiled them

from France. The revolutionary citizens of the towns organised themselves into *gardes nationales*, and ran all over the country hunting up priests and arresting them. In many places the peasants took up arms to defend the ministers of their religion, and the year 1791 saw the beginning of the 'Chouanerie.' A Breton gentleman, La Rouerie, tried to unite all the insurgent factors. He died before having succeeded; but in the beginning of 1793 a general insurrection broke out. It was repressed in a few weeks, except to the south of the Loire, where the insurgents were helped by the 'Vendéens,' but it soon began again in several Breton parishes. The heads of the insurrection were gentlemen like Charette, citizens like Le Gris du Val, and peasants like Cadoudal. It resulted in a succession of petty battles between the insurgents and the garrisons of the towns, out of which neither of them gained real advantage. The Republicans killed all their prisoners, and Carrier, the Revolutionary deputy at Nantes, had several hundreds of people shot and drowned without any trial whatever. The Chouans slaughtered all those they suspected of being spies. In 1795 a corps of emigrants landed on the peninsula of Quiberon to help the Chouans. They were hemmed in by the Republican army and obliged to surrender. They were nearly all shot, including even the servants who accompanied their masters in a merely menial capacity. The Chouannerie ended only with the religious persecution of 1800.

The Bretons of the nineteenth century were not lesser men than their ancestors, and Brittany may justly be proud of the glory she acquired through them. In this country many generals, admirals, artists and learned men were born. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a Breton, Chateaubriand, gave new life to French literature, and it is he whom all the great writers of the first half of last century recognise as their father and master. The mother of one of the finest poets of the nineteenth century, Victor Hugo, was a Breton. Other Bretons—Caro, Renan, Jules Simon—

were also renowned for their literary talents. Another, Lamennais, though he, later on, wrote against the teaching of the Church, contributed more than any of his contemporaries to dissipate the inertia of the Catholics. Brittany not only gave several of her children to the revival of religion that took place in the nineteenth century, but two of the most popular orders, the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne and the Petites Sœurs des Pauvres, were founded in Brittany.

But what distinguished the Bretons of the nineteenth century above all was the steady increase in the clearness with which they recognised their original and distinct nationality. Brizeux sang the poetry of our scenery and the charm of our old picturesque habits; La Villemarqué, Souvestre, and Luzel made our popular songs and marvellous fairy stories known, and the world was astonished at their literary merit. Thanks to the works of many writers, at whose head M. de la Borderie, by the accuracy of his erudition and the extent of his studies, takes an assured position, our history got rid of the falsehoods that had previously disfigured it, and the past of our country now appears to us in its true physiognomy of glory and poetry. In our large towns and departments numerous learned societies have been organised. In a larger circle, the 'Association Bretonne,' founded in 1843, and the 'Union Régionaliste,' established in 1898, endeavour to unite all Bretons who, according to the noble expression of the Marquis de l'Estourbeillon, wish to make of our small motherland, 'la plus prospère des Bretagnes dans la plus glorieuse des Frances.'

WHO IS THE HEIR OF THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY?

HENRY JENNER

N'oun na da Vleiz na da Vontfort, n'oun nemet servicher d'an Itroun Vari.—SALAUN FOLGOAT.[1]

IT is with much diffidence and with many apologies to the Bretons that I, though I only belong by birth to the nation which is more nearly related to them than any other, presume to attempt an answer to this question. Possibly my conclusions are not new to them, though to me they undoubtedly are new. Certainly much that is contained in this paper can only be mere commonplace to them. The conclusions are sufficiently startling, but I must disclaim at once any political *arrière pensée*, which is not my business in the affairs of another nation. All I claim to do is to state what I believe to be an unquestionable genealogical fact, and to give my reasons for the belief. I do not know, nor, if I did, is it for me to say whether it has any bearings beyond the quartering of coats-of-arms.

Brittany was once an independent state, and its independence differed materially from that of all the other states, with the possible exception of Navarre, which were ultimately united into one kingdom, but were virtually independent at a time when '*omnis Gallia*' was divided into a good many more than '*tres partes*' and 'France' was only a geographical expression, or was applied to a comparatively small country. When Armorica was practically derelict, it was settled by emigrants from Great Britain, who preserved their own Celtic speech and imposed it, instead of broken-down Latin, upon whatever 'fragments of forgotten peoples' they found there. They were governed by rulers of their own race, not by Frankish nobles upon

[1] I am neither for Blois nor for Montfort; I am but a servant of the Lady Mary.—SALAUN OF FOLGOAT.

whom fiefs had been conferred by Merovingian or Carlovingian kings. The Kings of France from time to time attempted to annex the country. They held it for a while in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was freed by Nominoe. The Normans ravaged it and more or less subdued it, till the '*chas a bel bro*' (dogs of a far land) were driven away by Alan al Louarn. Over and over again France or England tried to make it French or English, but stubborn Armorica remained '*bepred Breiz*' (always Breton) until the marriage of the Duchess Anne to two successive French kings and of her elder daughter to a third united the two crowns *de facto* until the fall of the French monarchy, and, if Anne was the legitimate duchess, *de jure* also, at least until a king arose, Henry of Navarre, who succeeded to France in accordance with the Salic Law of absolute male succession, but was not in any way the genealogical representative of the Dukes of Brittany.

A separation under such circumstances is not without precedent. When the crowns of France and Navarre had been united by the marriage of Philip IV. and Joan of Navarre, they continued united until, on the death of Charles IV., the male line of Philip and Joan became extinct. Then Philip of Valois, who was not descended from the House of Navarre, inherited France under the Salic Law, while Navarre, in which succession by or through a female was not barred, went to Joan, daughter of Louis X., the senior female heir. The two crowns were not united again until Henry, King of Navarre, succeeded to France in right of his paternal descent.

When George, Elector of Hanover, became King of Great Britain in 1714, by virtue of an Act which, whether validly or not, excluded Roman Catholics from the crown, no change was made in the laws of succession except the importation of a religious disqualification. Thus it was that on the death of William IV. in 1837, the crowns which had been united for a hundred and twenty-three years were disunited again. This was a stronger case than those

of Navarre and Brittany, for Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, was quite as much a descendant of three out of the five Hanoverian kings as Victoria was, and under almost any rule of succession but the British and Portuguese would have succeeded to the joined crowns, whereas Henry IV. of France was not a descendant of the House of Brittany any more than Philip of Valois was a descendant of that of Navarre. Thus it is seen that the right of Henry IV. to the Duchy of Brittany is not at all obvious, and must depend upon the validity of a settlement made by Francis I., King of France, widower of Claude, daughter of Duchess Anne, in or about 1532, and an alleged resignation of rights to the French king by the heirs of the House of Penthièvre. As a rule such settlements and resignations are valueless as against future heirs, but on the political validity of these particular arrangements I am not qualified to express any opinion. To *genealogy*, and that is what I am discussing, they can make no sort of difference.

The Salic Law did not apply to Brittany, but there, as in almost every non-Salic constitution, except in England after the accession of Henry II. in 1154, Scotland after that of Robert I. in 1306, and Portugal after the Council of Lamego in 1148, male agnates, brothers, nephews, or even those more distant, often succeeded in preference to daughters, who frequently only came in when there were no male agnates of reasonable proximity. No doubt this, when all descended from the original 'purchaser' (as the laws of Real Property would say), was quite as consistent as the succession of all the sons before all the daughters instead of that of all children in order of seniority irrespective of sex; and it had its value, like the Salic rule, in days when the principal duty of a king was to lead his army to battle. But, unlike the Salic Law, and its opposite as understood in Britain and Portugal, about which there can be no mistake, it constantly led to disputed successions, with or without bloodshed—generally *with*—and rival claimants tended to become puppets in the hands of greater powers who had

axes of their own to grind. Also, as time and civilisation went on and war-lords could perform the fighting part of their duty by deputy, the natural right of a daughter to succeed to her father, failing sons, got more and more to be recognised, though even now, as instance the true foundation of the claim of Don Carlos to the throne of Spain, its recognition is not everywhere complete. It was the conflict of the two ideas of succession that was at the bottom of the great dynastic struggle of Blois and Montfort. Daughters had succeeded to their fathers in Brittany before, with or without opposition, though it generally happened that their sons or husbands reigned instead of them. In this case the question was the less simple one, whether, on the death of John III. in 1341, his nephew, John of Montfort, son of his half-brother John, or his niece, Joan, daughter of his whole brother Guy of Penthièvre (or her husband Charles of Blois in her right), should succeed him. Guy was the elder brother, but the 'male agnate' theory came in, and after a long and very important war, John of Montfort eventually got the best of it. Yet one would have said at first sight that the right was on the other side, and that the descendants of Joan were the rightful line. This does not necessarily follow, for the exact succession was not sufficiently settled in those days, and the dispute resembles so closely the leading case of Bruce *versus* Balliol some fifty years earlier, that unless one is prepared to support the rights of the descendants of Balliol to the Scottish throne one cannot consistently dogmatise in favour of those of Joan of Penthièvre. But whether the Blois side were right or the Montfort, there can be no doubt that the true Heir of Line of the Dukes of Brittany must descend from one or the other of the two claimants. There are no others possible.

John of Montfort had a son, John V. (1399-1442), who was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis I. (1442-1450), who left a daughter Margaret, a child of only seven or eight. She did not succeed, if at all, until after her uncle, Peter II.

(1450-1457), and her great-uncle, Arthur III. (1457-1458), had both reigned. Meanwhile she had married the next heir, Francis, son of Richard of Étampes, third son of John IV. Margaret died childless in 1469, and Francis II. married again. By his second wife he had a daughter, the renowned Duchess Anne. Anne was recognised as her father's heir in 1486, and succeeded him at his death in 1488. There were no male agnates to oppose her right, and she was undoubtedly Heiress of Line of the House of Montfort, and, saving the rights of the House of Penthièvre, whatever they may have been, Heiress of Line of Nominoe and the ancient kings.

The first question now is: *Who is the Heir of Duchess Anne?* This is not difficult to answer. Anne married, first, Maximilian of Austria, afterwards Emperor. This was only a betrothal by proxy, and nobody, not even the parties themselves, took any notice of it; second, Charles VIII., King of France, by whom she had no children; third, Louis XII., King of France, by whom she had two daughters, Claude and Renée. Renée, the younger of the two, married Hercules II. of Ferrara, and her daughter Anne married Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. Her succession passed through the House of Bourbon-Conti to that of Orleans, so that if the line of the elder sister had failed, the Duke of Orleans, who claims the French crown, might have had a real right to the genealogical heirship of the House of Brittany. The line of another daughter of Renée passed through the House of La Rovere to that of Medici, and ended with the last Medici Grand-Duke of Tuscany in 1737. But the line of the elder daughter, Claude, has not failed. She married Francis I., King of France, and had a son, Henry II., who succeeded to her rights in Brittany and to his father's in France. She also had two other sons, Francis and Charles, who both died without issue, and two daughters, Magdalen, who married James V. of Scotland and died childless, and Margaret, who married Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. Henry II.'s three sons, Francis II.,

Charles IX., and Henry III. reigned successively over France and Brittany and left no children, the last dying in 1589. Then it was that the crown of France went, under the Salic Law, to Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, whose nearest male ancestor in common with Henry III. was St. Louis IX. (1226-1270). But the line of Anne and Claude was not yet extinct. Henry II. had also three daughters, Elizabeth, who married Philip II. of Spain, and died in 1568, leaving two daughters: Claude, who married Charles II., Duke of Lorraine; and Margaret, who married Henry IV. of France, and had no children. On the death of Henry III., the Heir of Line of the Duchess Anne was certainly Isabel, elder daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Spain. She married Albert of Austria, and died childless in 1633. Her sister, Catherine, had died in 1597, but she had married Charles Emmanuel I., Duke of Savoy, who through his mother, Margaret, daughter of Francis I. of France, was also descended from Anne of Brittany. Her son Victor Amadeus I. succeeded to his aunt, Isabel of Spain, as heir of the Duchess Anne, and was succeeded in 1637 by his eldest son Francis, who died unmarried in 1638. The second son, Charles Emmanuel II., succeeded, and died in 1675. Then follows a line of Dukes of Savoy and Kings of Sardinia: Victor Amadeus II. (1675-1732), who was the first King of Sardinia and by his marriage with Anne Maria of Orleans, daughter of Henrietta, daughter of our Charles I., brought the eventual heirship of the House of Stuart into his family; Charles Emmanuel III. (1730-1773); Victor Amadeus III. (1773-1796); Charles Emmanuel IV. (1796-1819), who died childless and was succeeded by his next brother, Victor Emmanuel I. On the death of Victor Emmanuel I., in 1824, it is possible that his brother, Charles Felix, would have succeeded to the Duchy of Brittany, on the 'male agnate' principle, but as he died without children in 1831, it made no difference. The crown of Sardinia, under strict Salic Law, then passed to the House of Savoy-Carignan, descended from Thomas, second son of Charles Emmanuel I. and

Catherine of Spain, but this was far too distant to apply to Brittany on the 'male agnate' theory. Victor Emmanuel I. left four daughters, the eldest of whom, Mary Beatrice, married Francis IV., Duke of Modena, and to her the Heirship of Line of Brittany undoubtedly passed, either on the death of her father or of her uncle. She, dying in 1840, left two sons, Francis V. of Modena, who succeeded her, and Ferdinand, and two daughters, Theresa, who married Henry V., King of France, and had no children, and Mary Beatrice, who married John of Spain, and was the mother of Don Carlos of Spain. Francis V. of Modena died childless in 1875. His brother Ferdinand was already dead, but he had left a daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, Princess Louis of Bavaria, who is beyond all question the Heiress of Line of Anne of Brittany.

The second question is: *Who is the Heir of Joan of Penthièvre, wife of Charles of Blois?* In tracing out this one must necessarily proceed on strict genealogical lines. It came to much the same result in the case of the descendants of Anne, but since the House of Penthièvre claimed on principles of descent like those of Britain, it is unquestionable that the 'male agnate' theory cannot apply to them. They cannot have it both ways. But again it makes no difference. Guy of Penthièvre, second son of Arthur II., as we have seen, left a daughter, Joan, whose husband, Charles of Blois, disputed the Duchy with John of Montfort, son of the third son of Arthur II. She had two sons, John and Henry, and two daughters, Margaret and Mary. Henry died childless; John succeeded to his mother, and died in 1403, leaving, besides daughters, four sons: Oliver, who died without issue in 1433; John, who died, also without issue, in 1454; Charles, who died in 1434, leaving one daughter; and William, who died in 1455 leaving three daughters. Thus ended the male line of Joan of Penthièvre. Of the four great-grand-daughters, the heiress was Nicole, daughter of Charles. She married John of Brosse, and died in 1454, leaving a son, also John, and several daughters. This John died in 1502,

leaving a son, René, and four daughters. The only son of René, John, died without issue in 1564, and Charlotte, daughter of René, who married Francis II. of Luxemburg, became his heiress. She had an elder son, Charles, who had died childless in 1553, and a second son, Sebastian, who died in 1569, leaving an only daughter, Mary, who married Philip of Lorraine, Duke of Mercœur. Her daughter Frances married Cæsar, Duke of Vendôme, natural son of Henry IV. Frances had two sons, both of whom died before her, Francis without issue in 1669 and Louis in 1668, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Louis had two sons, Louis Joseph, who died in 1712, and Philip, who died in 1719, both without issue. The daughter, Elizabeth, married Charles Amadeus of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, and left a daughter, Mary, who married Charles Emmanuel II., Duke of Savoy. Their son, Victor Amadeus II., united in his own person the heirship of line of both Blois and Montfort, and from him the combined inheritance descended, as already detailed, to his present representative, the Archduchess Maria Theresa of Modena, consort of Prince Louis of Bavaria, who is beyond all question the Heiress of Line of Joan of Penthièvre.

Thus it is that whether one holds by Blois or by Montfort, and whether one traces according to the ordinary rules of genealogy or admits the claims of proximate male agnates before female heirs, the result is the same, namely, that the Heiress of Line of the ancient Ducal House of Brittany can be no other than her Royal Highness Princess Maria Theresa of Modena, Princess Louis of Bavaria. Another Salaun might say, '*Mi a zo da Vleiz ha da Vontfort ho daou*' [I am for both Blois and Montfort], and leave the rest of his sentence unchanged.

It is interesting to note that, going by genealogy, not by Acts of Settlement, the same exalted lady is also, through her descent from Charles I., as is well known, Heiress of Line of the House of Stuart, and therefore of Tudor and Plantagenet, of Rollo, of Alfred and Cerdic, and of the ancient Scottish and Pictish and perhaps Irish and British Royal

Houses. It is a wonderful pedigree that includes the heirship of all Celtia, with Saxondom and Normandy thrown in !

THE MACNEILLS OF ARGYLLSHIRE

Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair

Gilleoin na Tuaighe, progenitor of the Macleans, had three sons, Gilchrist or Cristin, Gillebride and Gillise. Gillemoire Maclean, a grandson of Gilleoin, and probably a son of Gilchrist, held lands in the county of Perth in 1296. As the district of Lorn belonged to the county of Perth in 1296, and as the Macleans had their early home in Lorn, it may be regarded as a fact that Gillemoire lived in Lorn. John Mac Molmari appears on record in 1354. He was one of the principal followers of Macdougall of Lorn and had a son old enough to be given as a hostage. As Molmairi or Maolmoire and Gillemoire are the same name, it is probable that the John who was to give his son as a hostage was the son of Gillemoire Maclean. At the same time it is possible that he was not a Maclean at all ; he may have been a Macdougall.

Gillise, youngest son of Gillean of the Battle-axe, settled in Kintyre. Malcolm, his son, appears there as a landlord in 1296. Malcolm married Reena, daughter of Donald, son of Eric Mac Kennedy, Lord of Carrick, and had by her Donald, Neil, and John Dubh. Lachlan Mor, progenitor of the Maclachlans, married a sister of Donald's wife and had by her Patrick, his successor. In the Skene MS. the name of Malcolm Maclean's father-in-law is given as Gamail, but Gamail is a misreading for Domnall.

Donald Maclean, eldest son of Malcolm, was married and had four children, Gillise or Malise, John, Beatrice, and Effreta. Neil, the second son of Malcolm, was married and had two sons, Dermid and Malcolm. John Dubh, the third son of Malcolm, married, apparently, a daughter of

Lachlan, son of Hector, son of Alexander of Loup, and had two sons by her, Lachlan Lùbanach and Hector Reaganach, Lachlan Lùbanach married in 1366 Mary, daughter of John, Lord of the Isles. As Mary and himself were third cousins, it was necessary for them to obtain from Rome a dispensation for their marriage.

The groundless statement has sometimes been made that Hector Reaganach of Lochbuie was an older son than Lachlan Lùbanach of Duart. According to the Skene MS., which was compiled about 1383, John Dubh had two good sons, Lachlan and Hector. If Hector had been older than Lachlan the words of the MS. would certainly be—John Dubh had two good sons, Hector and Lachlan. As, however, the MS. names Lachlan as the first son and Hector as the second son, it is of no use to fly in the face of it at the present day and declare that the writer of it was in error in making Lachlan older than Hector. Whilst, however, it is true that Lachlan was older than Hector, it is also true that neither of them had a particle of hereditary right to the chiefship of the Macleans. It was not right but might —the might of the Lord of the Isles—that gave to Lachlan the lands of Duart and placed him at the head of the Clan Gillean. It was the same might that gave the lands of Lochbuie to Hector Reaganach and made an important chieftain of him. The representative of the Gillemoire Maclean, who lived in Lorn in 1296, would be the hereditary chief of the Macleans. But as the Macleans of Lorn were followers of the Macdougalls, they could expect no favours from the Lords of the Isles. The two sons of Donald Maclean in Kintyre, and the two sons of Neil Maclean, Donald's brother, had a much better hereditary right to the chiefship of the Macleans than Lachlan Lùbanach had, but as neither of them had the powerful Lord of the Isles for his father-in-law none of them could obtain the chiefship of the Macleans. Whilst, however, Lachlan Lùbanach was indebted for his lands and chiefship to the fact that his wife was a daughter of the Lord of the Isles, it is tolerably certain

that, so far as intellect, worldly wisdom, and capacity for business were concerned, he was the best qualified man for the position of chief among the Macleans of his day.

It is possible that the descendants of Gillemoire Maclean made Morisons of themselves, and that the Morisons who, along with the Macinnises, carried the body of Hector Roy of Duart from Harlaw to Iona, were really Macleans.

There is no connection between the Macneills of Argyllshire and the Macneils of Barra. They are not descended from the same Neil, and are consequently two distinct clans. The Macneils of Barra were originally known as the Clan Gilladamnan. It was only about the year 1400 that they began to call themselves Macneils. Gilladamnan or Gilleonan still exists among them as a personal name. The Macneills of Argyllshire had their earliest home in Kintyre, and are evidently descended from Neil, second son of Malcolm Maclean in Kintyre.

I. Neil, progenitor of the Macneills of Argyllshire, was born about the year 1305. He was appointed by King Robert Bruce, shortly after 1325, constable of the castle of Scraburg. We find it on record that he received in 1329 the sum of ten pounds in part payment for keeping the castle of Scraburg. It is certainly possible that there was a castle of that name in Scotland. At the same time, the probability is that Scraburg is a misreading for Cairnburg, Tarbert, or some other known stronghold.

II. Malcolm, son of Neil, was known as Calum Mac Neill, and was the first of the Argyllshire Macneills. He had a better hereditary right to the chiefship of the Macleans than his cousin Lachlan Lùbanach, and consequently could have little or no inclination to follow Lachlan as his chief. By dropping the name Maclean and calling himself Macneill he could be the founder of a new clan; he had a perfect right to call himself Malcolm Macneill, and he would exercise that right.

III. Neil, son of Malcolm, was probably known as Niall Og, and may have been constable of Castle Sween.

Indeed, Castle Sween or Sweenburg may have been the same place as Scraburg.

IV. Torquil, son of Neil, fought under Alexander, third Lord of the Isles, in the battle in which the latter was defeated in Lochaber by King James I. in 1429. Among the prisoners taken by the King were Alexander of the Isles, Lachlan Bronnach Maclean of Duart, Torquil Macneill, Terlach Maclean of Glenurchart, and Duncan Person, chief of the Macphersons. They were all closely related, except perhaps Duncan Person. They were confined in Tantallon Castle and kept there until October 1431. Torquil was captain of Castle Sween. He was also toiseachdoir of Knapdale, an office to which he had been appointed by the Lord of the Isles. He had two sons: Neil, his successor, and Hector, ancestor of the Macneills of Taynish.

V. Neil, eldest son of Torquil, received in 1455 from John, fourth Lord of the Isles, a charter of confirmation of the office of toiseachdoir of Knapdale. Hector, second son of Torquil, appears on record in 1463, and is described as Hector, son of Torquil, son of Neil. He appears again on record in 1472 and was then keeper of Castle Sween.

VI. Malcolm, son of Neil, witnessed a charter in 1472, and was at that time laird of Gigha. He witnessed another charter in 1492. He seems to have been the first Macneill who owned Gigha. He had, apparently, two sons, Neil and Torquil.

In 1476 John of the Isles was deprived of the lands of Knapdale and Kintyre. In 1478 Donald Gorm, Neil Macneill, and others were in possession of Castle Sween and refused to surrender it to the Government. In 1481 Castle Sween, together with certain lands in Knapdale, passed into the hands of Colin, first Earl of Argyll. Donald Gorm was probably a Macdonald, Neil Macneill was the son and successor of Hector Macneill, constable of Castle Sween in 1472. He was the subject of an elegy by Effric Nic Corquodale, who was a very good poetess. It is certainly possible that Effric was his second wife, but there

is no ground for concluding that such was the case. The warm expressions of a poetess do not necessarily imply affection as a wife.

VII. Neil, son of Malcolm, was slain, together with a number of his followers, in 1530, by Allan Maclean, the accomplished plunderer who was known as Ailein nan Sop. Allan seized the island of Gigha and kept possession of it during his life. The only way to dispossess him would be to catch him and put him to death. But as he was the best admiral in Scotland and had a strong fleet under his command, and as his brother, Hector Mor of Duart, Macdonald of Islay, and the Earl of Argyll were on friendly terms with him, it would be both a difficult and hazardous matter to attempt to catch him. Shortly after he had made himself master of Gigha, he slew Maclean of Torloisk and seized his estate. He was then laird of both Gigha and Torloisk.

In January 1531 King James v. gave to Torquil Macneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macneill, a gift of the rents and duties of all the lands that had belonged to Malcolm Macneill of Gigha until the entry of the lawful and right heir thereto.—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 22. As Torquil had thus been appointed guardian to the heir of Neil Macneill, it is probable that he was a brother of Neil. The fact that he is styled chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macneill does not prove that he was chief of the Macneils of Barra ; it merely proves that he was chief of the Clan Neill of Gigha, or the Clan Neill in whose interest he was appointed guardian.

Neil of Gigha had two children—a lawful daughter named Annabell, and a natural son named Neil. Annabell inherited her father's lands, and, like a sensible and dutiful sister, made them over to her brother Neil, who was known as Neil Og.

VIII. Neil Og was laird of Gigha only in name. Although he had obtained a lawful claim to it from his sister it was of little or no value to him, as he could not obtain possession of it.

In 1538 there was a feud between the Macalisters of Loup and the Macdonalds of Largie, on the one hand, and the Macneills on the other hand. Alexander Macalister of Loup and John and Archibald Macdonald of the Largie family slew Malcolm Macneill, John Macquarrie, and others, while Donald Balloch Macneill and his accomplices slew Finlay Carach Mac Dunsleibhe, Ewen Mac Lachlan, and others—all followers of the Macalisters of Loup or the Macdonalds of Largie. The Macalisters and the Macdonalds seem to have been the aggressors.

In July 1539 King James v. gave to Allan Maclean, Ailein nan Sop, a gift of the non-entry of Gigha, Cameravoch, Tarbert, and other lands, for all the terms since the death of Malcolm Macneill, the last possessor thereof, and until the entry of the rightful heir. He appointed him at the same time toiseachdoir of all Kintyre from the Mull to Altasynach or Allt nan Sionnach. As Neil of Gigha had not been served heir to his father, Malcolm was the last person who was in legal possession of Gigha. In 1542 King James appointed Neil Og toiseachdoir of the same district in Kintyre over which he had appointed Ailean nan Sop in 1539. Allan died in 1551 and was succeeded by his son Hector. In 1552 Hector obtained a gift of the non-entry of Gigha and all the other lands that had been held by his father. As Neil Og could not possibly wrest his lands from Hector Maclean he sold them to James Macdonald of Islay, who received a charter of them from Queen Mary in April 1554. They consisted of the twenty pound lands of Gigha, sixteen mark lands of Kintyre, five mark lands in Islay, and eight mark lands in Knapdale. Neil Og died unmarried some time after 1566. In 1590 Angus Macdonald of Islay sold the island of Gigha for 3000 marks to Sir John Campbell of Calder.

The Macneills of Taynish

I. Hector, second son of Torquil, chief of the Clan Neill, was born probably about 1430. He witnessed a charter in

1463, and is described as Hector, son of Torquil, son of Neil. In 1472 he was keeper of Castle Sween in Knapdale, and also laird of Taynish.

II. Neil, son of Hector, succeeded his father in Taynish. He was married and had three sons—Hector, Donald Balloch, and Malcolm.

In 1476 John, fourth Lord of the Isles, was deprived of the lands of Knapdale and Kintyre. In 1478 Donald Gorm, Neil Macneill, and others were in possession of Castle Sween and would not surrender it to the Government. Donald Gorm was possibly a natural son of Donald Balloch Macdonald. Neil Macneill, who was undoubtedly Macneill of Taynish, was probably married to a daughter of Donald Gorm. In 1481 Castle Sween, together with certain lands in Knapdale, passed into the hands of Colin, first Earl of Argyll. The connection of the Macneills with Castle Sween was now at an end.

The names of the third, fourth, and fifth Macneills of Taynish may have been Hector, Neil, and Hector, but what they really were I do not know.

VI. Neil Macneill of Taynish appears as a witness in 1603. Malcolm, his brother, and Hector, his son, appear as witnesses at the same time.

VII. Hector, son of Neil, was fiar of Taynish in 1603. He became a vassal of the Earl of Argyll in 1607. In 1620 we find him labouring with all earnestness to expel the Macleans from Jura, and to plant Campbells, or other loyal followers of the Earl of Argyll, in their place. He was in possession of the island of Gigha in 1626.

The Macneills of Gallochallie

I. Donald Balloch, son of Neil second of Taynish, was the progenitor of the Macneills of Gallochallie.

In 1538 the Macalisters of Loup and the Macdonalds of Largie slew Malcolm Macneill, John Macquarrie, and others. In the same year, or perhaps early in 1539, Donald Balloch

Macneill slew a number of the followers of the Macdonalds of Largie. It is probable that Malcolm Macneill was a brother of Donald Balloch and that he lived in Kintyre.

II. Hector, son of Donald Balloch, had two sons, John Balloch and Hector Boydach.

III. John Balloch had at least one son, John Og.

IV. John Og had two sons: Donald, who succeeded him in Gallochallie, and Malcolm Beg of Arichonan.

V. Donald was succeeded by his son, whose name was probably John.

VII. Donald, son of the son of Donald, was a strong Jacobite, as the following extracts show:

'Carnassary Castle belonged to Sir Duncan Campbell of Achinbreck, who joined the Earl of Argyll in support of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. After the defeat of Argyll Lachlan Maclean of Torloisk, Lachlan Maclean of Coll, Maclean of Ardgour, Maclean of Kinlochaline, Maclean of Lochbuie, Donald Macneill of Callochallie, Archibald Maclachlan of Craigentarve and Maceachern in Kintyre captured, plundered and burnt the castle of Carnassarie.'—*Statistical Account of the Parish of Kilmartin.*

'Sir John of Duart, understanding that his friend and neighbour, Macneill of Calachailie, was surrounded by some English men-of-war at the Island of Gighalum, sent a detachment of men under the command of Sir Alexander Maclean, who brought off Calachailie safe, with the loss of only one man's arm shot off by a cannon ball.'—*Ardgour Manuscript*, page 44.

The Macneills of Colonsay

I. Malcolm Beg, son of John Og of Gallochallie, was noted for his strength, activity, and determination.

II. Neil Og, only son of Malcolm Beg, had three sons: Malcolm of Arichonan, who died young; John, who succeeded his brother in Arichonan, and Donald of Crerar and Drumdrishaig.

III. Donald of Crerar exchanged his lands with the Duke of Argyll, in 1700, for Colonsay and Oronsay. He married Mary, daughter of Lachlan Macneill of Tirfergus, and had Malcolm his successor.

IV. Malcolm, second of Colonsay, married Barbara, daughter of Campbell of Dunstaffnage, and had two sons, Donald of Colonsay and Alexander of Oronsay. Donald of Colonsay acquired the estate of Ardlussa in Jura. He was succeeded in his possessions by Archibald his son.

V. Alexander of Oronsay married Mary, daughter of Alexander Macdougall, chief of the Clan Dougall, and had by her John, Malcolm, James, Donald, Alexander, and Archibald.

VI. John, eldest son of Alexander, was born in 1767. He succeeded his father in Oronsay, and purchased Colonsay and Ardlussa from his cousin Archibald, son of Donald. He married Hester, daughter of Duncan Macneill of Dunmore, and had by her Alexander, Duncan, John, Malcolm, Archibald, and Forbes—all of whom knew Gaelic as well as English. Alexander succeeded his father in Colonsay; Duncan, who was born in 1795, was one of the clearest-headed lawyers that Scotland has ever produced. He was raised to the Bench, as Lord Colonsay, in 1851, and appointed President of the Court of Session in 1852. He died unmarried in 1874. John won distinction as a diplomatist, Malcolm was a lieutenant-colonel in the Army, Archibald was a Writer to the Signet, and Forbes a merchant in London.

VII. Alexander of Colonsay purchased the island of Gigha in 1836. He was drowned in the steamer *Orion* in 1850. He left four sons: John Carstairs, born in 1831, Alexander, Duncan, and Malcolm.

The Macneills of Carskeay

In 1594 Hector Macneill of Carskeay; Donald Dubh Macneill, son of Ewen; Lachlan Mor Macneill; John, son of

Hector Macneill; and John, son of Malcolm Macneill, gave a bond of manrent to James Macdonald, son and heir of Angus of Islay. In 1618 Hector of Carskeay was placed in charge of the castle of Kilkerran.

The Macneills of Tirfergus

Among the witnesses to the bond of manrent given in 1594 by the Macneills of Carskeay to James Macdonald were the following persons: Neil Buie Macneill, Tormod Macneill, and Donald Maddir Macneill; Neil Buie was the representative of the Macneills of Tirfergus, and was succeeded by his son Lachlan. Tormod Macneill and Donald Maddir Macneill were relatives of Neil Buie.

THE DYING BARD

How long before the night gives way to day?
How long before these glowing embers die away?
Like this poor fire, that, all but spent,
Flickers and fades again; so old and bent,
I know that I must die.
An hour is left: then when away across the sky
The great black clouds have rolled,
The morn will see me cold.

One hour before the paling day has broke!
One hour before these smould'ring embers cease to smoke!
Come, Harp, and in the last red glow,
The melancholy harmonies shall flow;
For when the night is dead
No elegy will sound to mourn this snowy head.
No one is left behind
To moan, except the wind.

So let thy voice, joined with my parting breath,
Tell of the tragic majesty of Death.
With tragic chords the heavy Hand of Fate
Strikes the sobbing Lyre of Life—too late
My weary spirit seems
To wake again; too late there rise those idle dreams
The harmonies recall
Of Love, the greatest tragedy of all.

Farewell, my loveless life, my lifeless love!
The daylight grows, the world begins to move.
Farewell, O Harp: now we have hurled
Our great death-chords across the world,
'Twere best thou never ring
To lesser hand; with mine I snap the string
And throw the broken lyre
To smoulder on the fire.

H. PRIESTLEY SMITH.

WHITLEY STOKES

RICHARD HENEBRY

DEATH has been sadly decimating the little rank of Keltic scholars of late years. Count Nigra of Italy passed away almost with Dr. Ascoli of Milan and Dr. Bugge of Christiania. Then a thrill of sorrow passed over the learned world at the totally unexpected announcement that John Strachan of the Victoria University, Manchester, had been cut down in his prime, to be renewed all too soon by the mournful news that added the name of Whitley Stokes to the tally of the lamented dead. I wish to write this short notice of the life and labours of Stokes as a tribute to the pure friendship that joined us for nigh twenty years and in some slight discharge of the many obligations I owe him.

Whitley Stokes, C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society, and Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, who died in London the 13th of April of the present year, was born in Dublin in 1830. He was of Protestant and English stock, but of a family that, like many others, threw in their lot with the people amongst whom they lived, and are tenderly revered in Irish memory for their emulation of the practice of the early Norman settlers in becoming *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*. The first of his name to come to Ireland was Gabriel Stokes, who is on record as having been an Engineer and Deputy Surveyor in 1735. His son, Gabriel Stokes, D.D., was a distinguished

churchman in Ireland, being a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Prebendary of Elphin, Chancellor of Waterford and Rector of Desertmartin in the Diocese of Derry. His son, Whitley Stokes the elder, was born in 1763 and became a Fellow of Trinity in his twenty-fifth year. He was a man of sterling probity and rectitude, who was forced into rebellion through witnessing the iniquitous governmental methods of his day. Upon a visitation of Trinity by Lord Clare in 1798 he was convicted of complicity in the revolutionary movement of the United Irishmen and suffered suspension from the exercise of all College functions for a period of three years. He was an intimate friend and associate of Wolfe Tone, and the latter often refers to him in his celebrated *Diary* in terms of the deepest respect. He regarded Stokes as 'the fitting head of a system of National Education' in case Ireland should succeed in recovering her independence. Under date 1790 he mentions 'Whitley Stokes, a Fellow of Trinity College, a man the extent and variety of whose knowledge is only to be exceeded by the number and intensity of his virtues.' He says further of him, 'With regard to Whitley Stokes, his political opinions approach nearer to mine than those of either Knox or Burrowes. I mention this, for in these days of unbounded discussion politics unfortunately enter into everything, even into our private friendships. We, however, differ on many material points, and we differ on principles which do honour to Stokes's heart. With an acute feeling of the degradation of his country, and a just and generous indignation against her oppressors, the tenderness and humanity of his disposition is such that he recoils from any measures to be attempted for her emancipation which may terminate in blood; in this respect I have not the virtue to imitate him. I must observe that, with this, perhaps extraordinary, anxiety for the lives of others, I am sure in any cause which satisfied his conscience, no man would be more prodigal of his own life than Whitley Stokes, for he is an enthusiast in his nature, but "what he would highly that would he

holily," and I am afraid that in the present state of affairs that is a thing impossible. I love Stokes most sincerely. With a most excellent and highly-cultivated mind, he possesses the distinguishing characteristic of the best and most feeling heart, and I am sure it will not hurt the self-love of any of the friends whose names I have recorded, when I say that in the full force of the phrase I look upon Whitley Stokes as the very best man I have ever known.' He also says of him in recording the incidents of a journey to Belfast, 'Stokes returned from Scotland. Had a narrow escape of being drowned, the ship he came in being wrecked on the northern coast. A million of pities if it had been so. Stokes is one of the best heads and hearts that I know, and a man whom I regard as much as any other living.' This Whitley Stokes died in 1845.

His son was William Stokes, M.D. In his profession he was regarded by Sir George Edward Paget as the most distinguished physician at the time in Europe. His statue by Foley may be seen in the Hall of the College of Physicians, Dublin. He graduated in Edinburgh in 1825, and was elected physician to the Meath Hospital. In 1843 he was appointed Regius Professor of Medicine at Trinity College. He enjoyed an extensive practice, and wrote a valuable treatise on diseases of the heart that still finds a place in the libraries of medical men. The name of the terrible symptom called 'Cheyne-Stokes breathing' is a testimony to his success in pioneer research work. But though celebrated as a physician he is chiefly remembered now for his interest in Irish Antiquities, Music and Language, and for his enthusiastic patronage of those and kindred studies. While residing in York Street, Dublin, and later in Merrion Square, his house became on Saturday nights the *salon* for all that was intellectual and cultured in the city. O'Donovan, O'Curry, the Fergusons, Todd, Burton and Petrie were regular visitors and found there, and there only, an environment congenial to their tastes and studies. Petrie, the veteran artist, antiquary and musician, was a special friend.

Dr. William Stokes sometimes led his friends upon archæological and scientific excursions into the Irish districts of Ireland, going as far afield once as to the Isles of Aran on the western coast. In his book, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archæology of George Petrie*, which he wrote in 1866-7, he gives a vivid description of a music collecting scene in a western island cottage. Petrie hastily sketched the air from the singer and afterwards reproduced it on the fiddle. He was accustomed to play such airs at the meetings in Dublin seated in a dark corner of the room with his face to the wall. I happened to play some Irish airs and a few reels for Whitley Stokes at Camberley in Surrey on the occasion of a visit to him some time ago, and he paid me the compliment of saying that he had not heard the fiddle speak with that voice since he last heard Petrie play in his father's house fifty years before. Foreigners who wished to see what was best and most enlightened in Dublin naturally found their way to York Street. In the journal of his visit to Ireland Thomas Carlyle describes a dinner-party to which he was invited there, and gives some account of the company. He makes mention of Whitley Stokes as a young man who carved. This used to be afterwards laughingly characterised by Dr. Stokes as a slight misstatement, because it happened that carving was just the accomplishment he could never lay claim to. Unfortunately, Carlyle was displeased with his visit to Ireland, and the description of what he saw is conceived in a petulant key. And considering that he had eaten salt upon the occasion, his bad temper seems but a poor excuse for bad manners. See the place referred to in his collected works.

Thus did Dr. William Stokes and his band of savants, by constant, earnest and rationally directed labour, make the first beginnings of a work that has nowadays assumed national proportions. It must be remembered, too, that they wrought in an age when their efforts were not appreciated, and had to await recognition from a generation at the time unborn. Even those who shared in their tastes were

opposed to them. For that was the period of bogus Philology and Archæology, when persons wrote laboured works in Dublin in support of the thesis that Gaelic was spoken by Adam, or that the Round Towers were of Oriental origin and dated from prehistoric times. Stokes and his school insisted, on the other hand, that theory must not precede but follow on a calm discussion of ascertained facts, historical, linguistic and archæological. An examination of Petrie's celebrated ' Essay on the origin and uses of the Round Towers ' will reveal for us the scientific temper with which he and his associates were imbued, while the outcry raised against that epoch-making book will give us the battle march of the misguided hosts that were leagued against them. It is impossible to calculate the total influence of Dr. William Stokes upon the movement that is now reinspiring Ireland. His influence reached even myself. For my father, having occasion to consult him when I was very young, was eagerly questioned if he spoke Irish and whether he used it habitually in the family. Upon his answering both questions in the affirmative, Dr. Stokes thanked him with a heartiness that he never forgot. That happened at a time when nobody dreamt of suggesting that Irish should be preserved as a spoken tongue. The children on our farm and those next door learned to speak Irish, whereas not one single child reared on any of the surrounding farms can either speak or understand it. In after years when helping Whitley Stokes to interpret many a difficult passage in Middle Irish texts he never suspected that the seed of the knowledge which I displayed was sown when his father once spoke a kindly and thoughtful word in his office in Dublin.

Whitley Stokes, the subject of my paper, was a son of Dr. William Stokes. It is easy to understand how he, having been born into such surroundings and brought up in them, should have his tastes fixed for him at an early period in life. Very probably the little boy who heard O'Donovan jocosely lampoon O'Curry in bad poetry for a

style of translation that carefully concealed ignorance even if it failed to retain the sense, never thought that he should one day have a deeper knowledge of Irish lore than either of them, and be able kindly to indulge the mistakes of both. He was born in 1830, as already stated, and studied in Trinity College, Dublin, where he gained high honours in Mathematics. It is remarkable that a man who was destined to become one of the foremost of modern philologists should have been subjected for so long to a strenuous course of exclusively legal training. It is certain that he owed his great philological knowledge to the very same cause to which I refer whatever little modicum of skill I possess in that science, viz. an interest in Irish. He brought his love for Irish from his father's household, and he continued to cherish the study of it during all the years of his professional course. He was called to the English Bar in 1855, having studied with such great jurists as H. M. Cairns, T. Chitty and A. Cayley. From that year until 1862 he practised as an equity draughtsman and conveyancer, publishing during the period a work on the *Liens of Legal Practitioners*, and another on *Powers of Attorney*. In the latter year he went to India and became a member of the Madras Bar. Thenceforward his promotion in his profession was very rapid. He was reporter to the High Court at Madras and Acting Administrator-General in 1863-64, Secretary to the Governor-General's Legislative Council and to the Government of India in the Legislative Department from 1865 to 1867, and Law Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1877 to 1882. He was also President of the Indian Law Commission in 1879. His skill as a draughtsman of legal enactments was noticed very early in his Indian career, and from beginnings then made he continued for many years until he had performed the truly herculean task of draughting and codifying practically the whole of the codes of civil and criminal procedure at present in use. Those include many Indian Consolidation Acts and the legal texts dealing with transfer of property, trusts, easements, specific

relief, and limitation. In the meantime he issued several works dealing with Indian legal subjects, including *The Indian Succession Acts*, *The Indian Companies Acts*, *The Anglo-Indian Codes*, and *The Older Statutes in Force in India*. Proof of his activity in Keltic scholarship at the same time is afforded by the publication of his works, *Goidelica* in Calcutta in 1866; *Middle Breton Hours*, Calcutta, 1876; *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, Calcutta, 1877; and *Togail Troi*, Calcutta, 1881. His care for Indian classics is shown also by a scheme which he devised for discovering, collecting, cataloguing, and preserving Sanskrit manuscripts.

In 1882 he returned home and lived sometimes in London and sometimes in Camberley, with occasional visits to Dublin for research work amidst the great manuscript collections there, and some winterings in the south of France. Being entirely free from legal cares he devoted himself almost exclusively to the science of Keltics. In that domain his patient industry, his energy and his genius are without parallel. He published books, he filled all the learned journals appertaining to his study, and wrote numerous articles in popular publications, such as the *Saturday Review*, *The Academy*, and *Fraser's Magazine*. In truth his loss means that many of the scientific Keltic journals must make their appearance in a very emaciated and anæmic condition until some one or more than one are found to take his place. His interests embraced not only the philological, the grammatical and the literary aspects of his study, and he was foremost in each of those, but extended also into the cognate realms of Religion, Medicine, Law, Folk-lore and Anthropology. The *apparatus criticus* of Introduction, Notes, Glossary and Indices with which his works are edited display a marvellous acquaintance with little-known sources, and a truly encyclopædic knowledge of contemporary sciences. The wonder is that one man could find time to read and write so much. Indeed, it is entirely owing to his industry that we can nowadays enjoy a sectional view of Middle Irish literature without being under the

necessity of grubbing it laboriously from MSS. and facsimiles, and of course the aids to an understanding of texts afforded by his translations, notes and glossarial matter are priceless. If the results of his labours are excluded, then there remains but very little Irish accessible to ordinary readers. In editing and translation he always aimed at rigid scientific accuracy. His translations are in a peculiarly limpid, pliable and nervous English style that was all his own, and that one could see reflected a great deal of the pure white classic glow of his originals. His knowledge of Middle English enabled him often to find an equivalent for an Irish term that is wanting in modern English. In such cases he never scrupled to use the obsolete word. This fact and an acquaintance with the idiom and tune of Middle English helped to contribute a savour of archaism that blent with his style and added to it some of the charm of the olden times when English was written in words and not in phrases. I once accused him in fun of being the heresiarch of the Keltic Note, for the sectaries of that cult, having been started by Arnold, had perforce to turn to the beautiful translations of Stokes as the only Keltic intellectual pabulum accessible to them, for they themselves knew no Keltic language. He admitted I was right, and added it was highly curious how they had evolved a style and spirit from the material that was diametrically opposed to Kelticism. For whereas they were all befogged, and lived by preference in the loneliness of twilight bogs, seeing for ever that which was purposely indefinite on a flitting grey background, Irish literature (now, with the possible exception of a small quantity of early Welsh poetry, the only reflex of Keltic thought and feeling) is strong, manly, purposeful, sharply defined in outline, frankly realistic and pitiless in logic. He said that the modern French style was not more accurate, more orderly, or of clearer definition than Irish prose. In editing texts he always consistently relegated scribal errors and palpably wrong forms to a footnote, and substituted the correct form in the text. Some objected to that procedure

as interfering with the exact rendering of the MS. But the MS. reading was always given at the bottom of the page, and furthermore Stokes's system, besides giving the MS. text, presented in addition a critical emendation of errors. The opposite practice of putting the corrected form in a footnote and leaving the MS. reading stand is the more usual. However, that is a matter of very trivial moment.

Of slightly graver significance is a charge that has been pretty generally alluded to in the newspaper notices of Stokes's death, viz. that he was over-trenchant and scathing in literary controversy. If in that article he exhibited a little of the *perfervidum genus Scottorum* it must be admitted that he got as good as he gave, and often from those who had no racial excuse for a choleric temperament. Perhaps Keltists generally have shown more anger and jealousy than persons engaged in other studies. The fact is they are known to each other mostly through their writings and not personally. And it is a well-known fact that many men give but a poor presentment of their intimate personalities in their published works, especially when it is considered that those are not always formally of an autobiographical nature. Stokes's controversies were chiefly, if not entirely, concerned with Dr. B. M'Carthy, a priest of the Diocese of Cloyne, with Professor Atkinson of Dublin, both now deceased, and with Professor H. Zimmer, at present Professor of Keltic Languages in the University of Berlin. I knew all of those, with the exception of Professor Atkinson, and so far as I could see they did not succeed in externating their individualities in prose treatises that dealt mostly with questions of Irish Grammar and Philology. Stokes's pure and classic style, with his ever-rigid exactness, conjured up an imaginary vision of a very thin man, greatly stooped in the shoulders, with a very aquiline nose, piercing eyes, and a corrugated brow. What a surprise to those who met him in the flesh for the first time, with his well-over six feet of portly humanity, straight as a whip, with his broad shoulders, his fine face and Napoleon beard, with his un-

furrowed brow, and his kindly, laughing eye as he discoursed of the humours of great men in Dublin long ago, or recounted jokes from the Indian jungle, or incidents from the *Táin bó Cualnge* made whimsical by modern contrasts, or shook his sides in laughter at some folly or foible of some one or other of the whole of us. And withal he was gentle-mannered as a child and kindly with the considerateness of the true gentleman. Or take Zimmer. Once during a week in Harvard, where I was the guest of Fred N. Robinson, the Professors there showed a great interest in Zimmer, and in me as a past pupil of his. I said he was the mildest-mannered man I ever knew. Some one remarked that his idea of him was as the Royal Tiger of Greifswald, the path-way to whose den was strewn with the bones of his enemies. 'Why,' said I, hurling a terrible secret upon an innocent and totally unprepared audience, 'Zimmer wears Dundreary whiskers!' And I then explained that he had the brain of an angel, the simplicity of a child, and the hospitality of King Guaire of Connaught. Or Thurneysen. Who never says a word too much, who is always exact, always right, always as hard and impassive as blue steel, but whom I grieve to have to report as an abandoned joker. How his laugh used to resound in the Schlossberg over Freiburg, or in the deeps of the Schwartzwald, or again those nights at his house when we used to begin to read in the *Würzburg Glosses* with the most exemplary of intentions, but finding something at the start which we were foolishly pleased to regard as funny, we lost all grip of our faces and gave way to the most unseemly laughter until the bell rang for supper. As a matter of fact the great want amongst Keltic scholars is an annual congress to be held, say, in New York City (for American colleges are bringing the Keltic centre of gravity every day further to the west), at which they could see and learn to know each other, and plan work and apportion its performance in an organised and orderly manner. The relations between individual workers would be all the easier and it would conduce to the noteworthy gain of Keltic letters.

But though mighty in debate Whitley Stokes never harboured resentment. There was an ancient literary feud between him and Zimmer, the exact rights of which I never knew. In the spring of 1898 Dr. Zimmer was stricken by a very dangerous illness, and lay for about ten days in a highly serious condition. I was his pupil at the time in Greifswald, and being very much attached to such a kind and generous master, I visited his sick chamber every day. Meantime I kept some Keltist friends in various countries daily informed of the progress of his malady. I remember receiving, practically every day, a letter from Whitley Stokes full of the kindest inquiries and the tenderest solicitude for Zimmer. Those I used to read at the bedside. I think Zimmer and Stokes never met. I make no doubt they would have been great friends—both men of single motives, both gentle souls adverse to the causing of pain, and with minds endowed beyond what is given to common men.

I shall set down here a list of the principal works of Whitley Stokes. This list I owe to the kindness of his daughter, Miss A. M. Stokes. There is no account taken here of the more occasional pieces contributed to publications of an ephemeral kind, as their exhaustive inclusion would need a very long and trying search out of proportion to the requirements of the present paper. The first issue of this magazine contained a paper by Whitley Stokes on 'Ancient Irish Riddles,' and probably the last article he contributed to any periodical was that which appeared in the April number of *The Celtic Review*.

List of Philological Publications

1860. Irish Glosses. Published by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.
1862. Three Irish Glossaries. London, Williams & Norgate.
1862. The Middle-English Play of the Sacrament. Published by Ascher & Company, Berlin, for the Philological Society.
1862. The Passion. A Middle-Cornish poem. Ascher & Company, for the Philological Society.
1863. The Creation of the World. A Cornish Mystery.
1877. Three Middle-Irish Homilies. Calcutta. (Dated 1871 in *Who's Who*.)

1872. Goidelica (2nd Edition). London, Trübner & Company. 1st Edition, Calcutta, 1866.
1872. The Life of Saint Meriasek. A Cornish Drama. London, Trübner & Company.
1876. Middle-Breton Hours. Calcutta.
1880. The Calendar of Oengus. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.
1881. Togail Troi. Calcutta.
1883. Saltair na Rann. Anecdota Oxoniensa, Clarendon Press.
1887. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Master of the Rolls Series, London.
1887. The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe. The Philological Society.
1890. Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Anecdota Oxoniensa. Clarendon Press.
1894. Urkeltischer Sprachschatz (in collaboration with Prof. Bezzenberger), Göttingen.
1895. The Martyrology of Gorman. London, Henry Bradshaw Society.
1896. The Rennes Dindsenchus. Revue Celtique, XVI.
1897. The Annals of Tigernach. Revue Celtique, XVI.-XVIII.
1898. The Gaelic Marco Polo, Maundeville and Fierabras. Zeitschrift f. Celt. Phil. I., II., and Revue Celtique, XIX.
1899. The Eulogy of St. Columba. Revue Celtique, XX.
1901. Da Derga's Hostel. Revue Celtique, XXII.
1905. The Martyrology of Oengus. London, Henry Bradshaw Society.
1909. In Cath Catharda (not yet published). Irische Texte, Leipzig.

PAPERS IN BEITRÄGE ZUR VERGL. SPRACHFORSCHUNG AUF DEM GEBIETE DER ARISCHEN, CELTISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN SPRACHEN. Kuhn u. Schleicher, 8 vols., Berlin, 1858-1876

VOL. I. Bemerkungen über die irische Declination. W. S. (dated Merrion Square, Dublin, October 24th, 1857).

VOL. II. (1) Gallische Inschriften. W. S., March 1859.
(2) Die Endung der 1 pers. sg. praes. indic. act. in neu-irischen. W. S., March 1859.
(3) Zur vergleichenden Syntax. 1860.

VOL. III. (1) Bemerkungen über das altirische verbum. 1860.
(2) Ueber die Inschrift Todi. 1860.
(3) Cornisches, 1861.

VOL. IV. Die Glossen und Verse in dem Codex des Juvencus zu Cambridge. 1864.

VOL. V. Die Mittelbretonischen unregelmässigen Verba. 1866.

VOL. VI. (1) Miscelanea Celtica von dem verstorbenen R. T. Siegfried. W. S.
(2) Endliches Glossar. 1867.
(3) Das Altirische Verbum.

Vol. vii. (1) Das Altirische Verbum.
(2) Der Accusativ pluralis in den britischen Sprachen. 1869.
(3) The Old-Welsh Glosses on Martianus Capella.
(4) The Old-Welsh Glosses on Juvencus, 1872.
(5) Zum keltischen Passivum. 1872.
Vol. viii. (1) On the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Mythology. 1874.

Papers in Bezzenberger Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen

Vol. xi. 1886. Celtic Declension.
Vol. xvi. 1890. On Professor Atkinson's Edition of the Passions and Homilies in the Lebar Brecc.
Vol. xvii. 1891. Glosses from Turin and Rome.
Vol. xviii. 1892. On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals.
Vol. xix. 1893. On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediæval Irish.
Vol. xxi. 1896. Celtic Etymologies.
Vol. xxiii. 1897. Celtic Etymologies.
Vol. xxv. 1899. Fifty Irish Etymologies.
Vol. xxix. 1905. Celtica.

Papers in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, ed. by A. Kuhn

Vol. xxxvi. 1883. The Breton Glosses at Orleans. The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal (both printed privately originally in Calcutta, 1880).
Vol. xxviii. 1887. The Old-Irish Verb-substantive.
Vol. xxix. 1888. Irish Glosses and Notes on Chalcidius.
Irish stems in S.
Vol. xxx. 1890. The Old-Irish Glosses in Regina, 215.
Vol. xxxi. 1892. Hibernica.
Vol. xxxiii. 1895. Hibernica, viii. ix. x.
Old Irish Glosses on the Bucolics.
Vol. xxxv. 1899. Hibernica, xi.-xiv.
Vol. xxxvi. 1900. Hibernica, xviii.-xxiii.
Vol. xxxvii. 1904. Hibernica, xxiv.-xxvi.
Vol. xxxviii. 1905. Hibernica, xxvii.
Vol. xxxix. 1906. Hibernica, xxviii.
Vol. xl. 1907. Irish Etymologies.
Vol. xli. 1907. Irish Etyma.

Papers in Indogermanischen Forschungen

Vol. ii. On the assimilation of pretonic N in Celtic suffixes.
Vol. xii. Irish Etymologies.
Vol. xxii. S-presents in Irish.

PAPERS IN FOLK-LORE

VOL. III. The Bodleian Dinnsenchas.
VOL. IV. The Edinburgh Dinnsenchas.

PAPERS IN THE REVUE CELTIQUE

VOL. I. 1870-72.
(1) Mythological Notes.
(2) The Manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels.
(3) Le Catholicon de J. Lagaduc.

VOL. II. 1873-75.
(1) Mythological Notes.
(2) A Middle-Irish Homily on St. Martin of Tours.
(3) The Klosterneuberg Incantation.
(4) A conjectural emendation of Pliny.
(5) The Ancient Irish Goddess of War.

VOL. III. 1876-78.
(1) On the Celtic comparisons in Bopp's Comparative Grammar.
(2) Cuchulainn's Death abridged from the Book of Leinster.
(3) On the Gaelic Names in the Landanamabok and Runic Inscriptions.
(4) Cornica.
(5) A parallel.
(6) Leabhar Breac.
(7) Review of O'Curry's book On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.

VOL. IV. 1879-80.
(1) Tidings of Doomsday.
(2) Cornica.
(3) Old Breton Glosses.

VOL. V. 1881-83.
(1) On the Calendar of Oengus.
(2) Four new Gaulish Inscriptions.
(3) Irish Folklore.
(4) Another parallel.

VOL. VI. 1883-85.
(1) On the Metre Rinnard and the Calendar of Oengus as illustrating the Irish Verbal Accent.
(2) Criticism of Atkinson's Lecture on Irish Metric.
(3) Remarks on Mr. Fitzgerald's Early Celtic History and Mythology.
(4) Extracts from the Franciscan Liber Hymnorum.
(5) Mythological Notes.

VOL. VII. 1886.
(1) Find and the Phantoms.
(2) Early Middle Irish Glosses.

VOL. VIII. 1887.
(1) The Siege of Howth.
(2) The Irish Verses, Notes, and Glosses in Harl. 1802.
VOL. IX. 1888.
(1) The Voyage of Snedguss and Mac Riagla.
(2) On the Materia-Medica of the Mediæval Irish.
(3) The Voyage of Maelduin.
(4) Zimmeriana.
(5) Corrections of a recent edition of the Würzburg Glosses.
(6) Note on the personal appearance and death of Christ, His Apostles, and other
(7) Notes on the Würzburg Glosses.
VOL. X. 1889.
The Voyage of Maelduin.
VOL. XI. 1890.
A Note about Fiacha Muillethan.
VOL. XII. 1891.
(1) The second battle of Moytura.
(2) Life of St. Fechin of Fore.
(3) Adamnan's second Vision.
VOL. XIII. 1892.
(1) The Boroma.
(2) The Battle of Mag Mucrime.
VOL. XIV.
(1) The Voyage of the Hui Corra.
(2) Old Irish Glosses on the Bucolics from a MS. in the Bibl. National.
(3) The violent deaths of Goll and Garb.
VOL. XV. 1894.
The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas.
VOL. XVI.
(1) The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas.
(2) The Annals of Tigernach.
VOL. XVII.
The Annals of Tigernach.
VOL. XVIII.
(1) The Annals of Tigernach.
(2) On the Dublin edition of the Annals of Ulster.
(3) The Dublin fragments of Tigernach's Annals.
VOL. XIX. 1898.
The Irish Version of Fierabras.
VOL. XX. 1899.
The Bodleian Amra Choluimb chille.
VOL. XXI. 1900.
(1) The Bodleian Amra Choluimb chille.
(2) Da Choca's Hostel.

Vol. xxii. 1901.

The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel.

Vol. xxiii. 1902.

(1) Notes on the Martyrology of Oengus.
(2) On the death of some Irish Heroes.
(3) The death of Muirchertach mac Erca.

Vol. xxiv. 1903.

(1) The Battle of Allen.
(2) The death of Crimthann son of Fidach and the adventure of the sons of Eochaid Muigmedon.
(3) The wooing of Luaine and death of Atherne.
(4) On Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to Vols. i. and v. of the Ancient Laws Ireland.

Vol. xxv. 1904.

(1) The Songs of Buchet's House.
(2) Tidings of the Resurrection.
(3) The Life of Fursa.

Vol. xxvi. 1905.

(1) The Colloquy of the two Sages.
(2) The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics.
(3) Three Legends from the Brussels MS. 5100-4.

Vol. xxvii. 1906.

(1) Irish Etymologies.
(2) The Birth and Life of St. Moling.

Vol. xxviii. 1907.

(1) Notes on the Birth and Life of St. Moling.
(2) The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday.

Vol. xxix. 1908.

(1) The Training of Cuchulainn.
(2) Old Irish Glosses at Laon.
(3) Addenda and Corrigenda.

Papers in the Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie

Vol. i. 1897.

(1) A Celtic Leechbook.
(2) Cuimmin's Poem on the Saints of Ireland.
(3) The Gaelic abridgement of Ser Marco Polo.

Vol. ii. 1899.

(1) The Gaelic Maundeville.
(2) Notes on the St. Gallen Glosses.

Vol. iii. 1901.

(1) The destruction of Dind Rig.
(2) A list of ancient Irish Authors.
(3) The Battle of Carn Conaill.

(4) Amra Senain.
(5) Irish Etymologies.
(6) On a passage in Cath Cairn Chonaill.

Vol. iv. 1903.

On the Copenhagen fragments of the Brehon Laws.

Vol. vi. 1908.

Notes on the 2nd edition of the Martyrology of Oengus. London, 1905.

Papers in the Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie

Vol. i. 1900.

(1) A list of Welsh Plantnames.
(2) The Lecan Glossary.
(3) A Glossary to the Cornish Drama Bennan and Meriasek.
(4) A Collation of the Cartulary of Quimperlé.
(5) A Collation of Norris' Ancient Cornish Drama.
(6) O'Mulconry's Glossary.
(7) Three Irish Medical Glossaries.
(8) A Collation of the second edition of O'Clery's Irish Glossary.
(9) Suum cuique.

Vol. ii. 1904.

(1) A Collation of Skene's edition of the Book of Aneurin.
(2) O'Davoren's Glossary.

Vol. iii. 1907.

(1) Glossed extracts from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.
(2) The Glossary in Egerton 158.
(3) Note on the Glossary in Egerton 158.
(4) The Stowe Glossaries.
(5) Notes on the Glossary in Egerton 158 Archiv iii. 145-214.

Papers in Eriu

Vol. ii. 1905.

(1) The Eulogy of Curoi.
(2) The Evernew Tongue.

Vol. iii. 1907.

(1) On two Irish expressions for 'Right Hand' and 'Left Hand.'
(2) Notes on the Evernew Tongue.

Vol. iv. Part i. 1908.

Tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa.

List of Legal Publications

1860. Treatise on the Liens of Legal Practitioners.
1861. On Powers of Attorney.
1865. Hindu Law Books, Madras.

1865. The Indian Succession Act with Commentary, Calcutta.
1866. The Indian Companies' Act, with Notes.
1874. The Older Statutes in Force in India, with Notes.
1887-8. The Anglo-Indian Codes, 2 vols.
1889-91. Supplements to Anglo-Indian Codes.
Also draughtsman of many Indian Consolidation Acts, the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, 1882, and the Acts dealing respectively with Transfer of Property, Trusts, Easements, Specific Relief, and Limitation.

Stokes was, besides, joint editor with his lifelong friend, Dr. Windisch, of the Irische Texte series, published in Leipzig, of the *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie* (1900-1907) and with John Strachan of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, published between 1901 and 1903 by the Cambridge University. This work, in two splendid volumes, contains all the Old Irish extant both in gloss material and in texts with a Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices. The plan to add an Old-Irish Glossary as volume three fell through, owing to the death of Strachan. The production of the *Thesaurus* was a very onerous undertaking, and one entailing an infinity of arduous labour. The whole of the matter it contains had been published previously, but in rare and scattered journals, so that there was a crying need for a uniform and compendious issue of the material in which later accessions to Keltic knowledge might be embodied in a new translation and notes. By the completion of this very heavy task they have conferred an inestimable boon on scholars of Old Irish. The whole book is furnished with a literal English translation, except where an Irish word is a mere rendering for a Latin word, in which cases the Latin was deemed to indicate the meaning sufficiently. Wherever the editors differed on questions of interpretation the opinions of both are appended in a footnote. It will be noticed in the preceding list that Dr. Stokes edited the *Féliere Oengusso* twice; first in 1880 for the Royal Irish Academy, and again in 1905 for the Henry Bradshaw Society. The first edition reproduced three MS. versions with translation, the second presented a critically reconstructed text from the materials afforded by ten MSS., an emended

translation, besides an Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Indices. The *Togail Troi*, or Destruction of Troy, was a difficult and very important text brought out in Calcutta in 1881. From the numerous citations from it in Windesch's edition of the *Táin Bó Cualnge* one can judge of its high value as an aid to the interpretation of the difficult language of the Cuchulainn Sagas. The *Saltair na Rann*, edited in 1883, was a weighty document in early Middle-Irish verse that has not yet been fully examined. The *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, so called from the fact that it takes the form of three homilies, in addition to the *Life* itself, embodied all the Patrician documents of any importance both in Irish and in Latin. The edition of the *Würzburg Glosses*, published for the Archæological Society in 1887, was the first appearance of such a work with an English translation. Its material, of course, was embodied later in the *Thesaurus*. The *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (1890) was a valuable addition to Middle-Irish hagiology and literature. In the *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, produced conjointly with Professor Bezzenberger, Dr. Stokes laid the foundations for a Keltic Etymological Dictionary that marvellously holds its place still in spite of the numerous discoveries that have been made since its issue. And of such discoveries many were made by himself. The *Martyrology of Gorman* (1895), with the *Félire Oengusso* above, comprise the whole of our Festological books, with the exception of the *Martyrology* of *Donegal*, which was published before his time by the Dublin Archæological Society. In editing the Rennes *Dindsenchas* (1896), and the *Annals of Tigernach* (1897), besides interpreting his texts he has made important additions to our knowledge of history and topography. He published some of the minor Sagas, and many of his works are in a high degree useful in furnishing keys to the difficulties by which that class of literature is still beset, and the Homilies, Lives of Saints, and Martyrologies are indispensable to the Irish Church historian.

Broadly, then, his work embraced scientific criticism,

lexicography, philology, exact grammar, history, hagiology, folklore, topography, homiletic and ecclesiological work, metric and mythology, not to mention other departments of research. He was, before all, the great publisher of Middle-Irish literature. In that particular nobody even approached him in amount of matter or in the quality of the work. His publications cover the whole period of historical Irish, and it will be seen that his philological and grammatical explorations extended from Gaulish inscriptions to the endings of the modern Irish verb. He combined the scientific sense for linguistic with a keen feeling for the canons of literary taste. He exemplified his possession of this latter quality by his oft expressed appreciation of the beauty of his text and by the flawless and charming English into which he rendered it. His country, Ireland, owes him a debt for a long and laborious life spent in doing her the highest possible service, a debt she owed to nobody since the death of the scribes that compiled the great books from which he worked. Ferguson, when writing to a friend about Whitley Stokes when a young man, said 'the noisy Irish' did not know of his existence. Indeed, the same may be truly said to-day after the lapse of long years, when the library shelves of the learned are groaning with the rich harvests he gleaned with much daily toil and protracted nightly vigils. But there are others now in Ireland besides 'the noisy.' And the new species is bound to multiply. For many are now eagerly reading his works and learning to give honour where honour is due, so that Whitley Stokes will one day come into his own.

It is but fitting to add that the best traditions of his family were also nobly upheld by his sister, Miss Margaret Stokes. She was a noted artist, antiquary, and a specialist in Church history research. She was the author of a splendid little handbook on *Irish Art and Architecture*; she edited the *Petrie Collection of Irish Inscriptions* with illustrations, and the two sumptuous quarto volumes of Lord Dunraven, dealing with the earlier examples of Irish architecture.

She also wrote *Six Months in the Apennines, a Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of Irish Saints in Italy*, and *Three Months in the Forests of France*. Her tastes had been fostered and directed by Petrie, and she followed faithfully in his footsteps, leaving an honourable legacy to her country as became one of her name.

The qualities of cheerfulness of demeanour, suavity of manner, gentleness of voice, and sweetness of temper that distinguished Whitley Stokes in the family were appreciated by all who had the good fortune to witness them. He was honoured and admired by strangers, by his own he was adored. He was devoted to his family with all the tenderness of a father's heart, drawing pathetically closer to them as the time for departure approached. In the death of Whitley Stokes Ireland lost a friend, Keltic scholars a leader, his family mourns for a presence that was the household treasure but which now has passed. I shall conclude by citing a translation of the Old-Irish colophon by which himself and Strachan brought their great labours on the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* to a close: whoso reads this book let him bestow a blessing upon the soul of R. A. Neill and upon our own souls, Whitley Stokes an Irishman and John Strachan a Scotsman.

PAN CELTIC NOTES

THE long fight to secure for Irish a place among the essentials for matriculation in the national university goes on without either side gaining much definite advantage. To one watching from a distance, it seems that the anti-Irish forces are entrenched so securely in the strongholds of office that the shot and shell of the patriotic party—eloquent orations, enthusiastic meetings, resolutions of public bodies, convincing newspaper articles—pass over their heads, for the most part wasted and ineffective. Can the leaders of the Gaelic League find among themselves no strategist capable of evolving a plan of campaign which

shall make better use of the loyalty and zeal of the rank and file ? If not, the chances of victory are slight.

Since assuming its new but historic name of *The Irish Nation*, our old friend *The Peasant* has printed a good deal more Irish than was its wont theretofore, and has gone in, moreover, for a suit of Gaelic type. In one small way this latter change may occasion regret. I know several Scottish Gaels who used to take delight in deciphering the Irish articles when they appeared in Roman type, and who lament that the new dress disguises the affinity between Irish and their native tongue.

It is certainly a good plan on the part of the Oireachtas Committee to authorise Coiste na mBan to organise an ' Irish Historical Character Dance for Children ' in connection with the Irish national festival. The dance, which was held in the Rotunda, Dublin, on August 2, constitutes, I believe, the first attempt to associate children with the Oireachtas ; one hopes it may institute in hundreds of cases a life-long affection for the festival. *An Claidheamh Soluis*, by the way, points out that ' the Oireachtas causes a big drain on the Language Fund.' It would be an excellent thing if the departure to be initiated by Coiste na mBan should point the way towards making the festival a help instead of a hindrance even in matters financial.

This year's summer course of the School of Irish Learning is of more than usual interest. Mr. Osborn J. Bergin is lecturing on ' Old Irish,' ' Middle Irish Manuscripts,' and ' Old Irish Texts ' ; Professor Kuno Meyer on ' Old and Middle Irish Poetry ' ; and Mr. J. Glyn Davies on ' Elementary Welsh Grammar,' with a continuation course, and ' Mediæval Welsh Texts.' The session began on July 1st at 33 Dawson Street, Dublin. Practically all the lectures are given in the evening, and the fees are almost ridiculously small.

A long overdue measure of justice is done to the memory of a gifted Gaelic scholar by an article which appears in *The Celtic Monthly* for May. It is from the pen of Mr.

J. P. Anderson, and deals with one of his predecessors in the office of University Librarian of Aberdeen—Ewen Maclachlan. Many errors in and omissions from the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the catalogue of the British Museum are corrected, and much interesting information is given regarding Maclachlan's work as bard, translator, and lexicographer. The same magazine contains a full-page photograph of a well-known Scottish personality, Mr. Theodore Napier, with a detailed description of the Highland costume he wears so consistently.

Manxmen everywhere should accord a hearty welcome to Part II. of Mr. W. H. Gill's *Songs of my Fatherland*—an unpretentious but extremely interesting collection of Manx music, ancient and modern. Three of the four songs which make up this part have Manx as well as English words. I venture to quote the last verse of 'Ny Lomarcan' ('Alone'), since the words, apart from their pathetic beauty, cannot fail to interest speakers of Scots and Irish Gaelic:—

'Ven aeg, cre hon t'ou nish dobberan,
Ec oirr yn cheayn gorm ec shee?'
'Soie son dy door my ghraih deyr e vaase;
Soie son dy door my ghraih deyr e vasse;
Blaik lhiu mish ve aitt?' dooyrt ee.

The *Songs* may be had from the *Manx Sun* stationery store, Douglas.

On the whole, the Welsh National Eisteddfod for this year, held in London on June 15-18, must be considered successful. When, in 1907, the Committee sent a deputation to Swansea with a petition that the Welsh festival might visit the English Metropolis, a promise was given that the Eisteddfod should be thoroughly Cymric in character. That promise was faithfully redeemed. Competitors and visitors who came up from Wales expecting to find the gatherings Anglicised out of all recognition were pleasantly surprised. Welsh was the language employed whenever possible—even the militant suffragists who invaded the Albert Hall found themselves using it before

the festival was over—and a special tribute should be paid to the magnificent loyalty of Mr. Lloyd George in this matter. The example of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was followed by all the Welsh Members of Parliament present, and the result is that many hundreds of young people who came up from the Principality to take part in the musical competitions have gone back with renewed faith in the future of their nation and her language.

In one respect it was certainly well worth while for the Eisteddfod to revisit London after its twenty-two years' absence; the London Committee produced its list of subjects, and its two-hundred page programme, in a style which deserves imitation at all future Eisteddfodau. Too often the local committees, in their natural desire to make the festivals 'pay their way,' crowd these publications with advertisements in the most incongruous and unsightly fashion. A terrible example is furnished by the list of subjects for competition at next year's National Eisteddfod in Colwyn Bay. Though in choice of subjects the list is in many respects one of the best that has been seen for some years, it is, in the matter of ugly and annoying advertisements, one of the very worst. One sincerely hopes that London's example will shame the Committee into avoiding this sin when the programme of the daily sessions comes to be produced.

Nothing is more exasperating to the patriotic Welshman than the supercilious smile with which the average Englishman receives any mention of the wealth of Welsh literature. Walled in by his ignorance of the language, and secure in his conviction that it contains little but a few poems of doubtful age and still more doubtful excellence, the Englishman remains persuaded, whatever one may say, that on this point the Welsh are the victims of a self-deception that is harmless to them and a little amusing to so superior a person as himself. At long last it has been made possible to put into the hands of such people a little book which constitutes an unanswerable argument. It is published by

Messrs. Jarvis & Foster of Bangor, at the low price of half a crown, and is called *A Manual of Welsh Literature.* In it the Rev. J. C. Morrice deals with the lives and works of some two hundred writers of Welsh prose and poetry from the sixth century to the end of the eighteenth. Despite the slipshod—no doubt hurried—English in which it is written, the *Manual* is a most valuable piece of work. Its illustrative extracts are enough to lure the least poetical Welshman to the study of the bards, and to impress any thoughtful stranger with the remarkable continuity of Welsh literature through centuries of conquest, oppression, and neglect.

From the same publisher as the work just mentioned comes a delightful volume entitled *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr.* It is a facsimile reproduction of the original black-letter edition (1595) of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,* as translated into Welsh by Maurice Kyffin. The book is number five in the series of reprints of Welsh classics issued by the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales, which has been fortunate enough to secure in Mr. W. Prichard Williams an editor of quite unusual gifts. In addition to annotating the text and adding a collection of the author's poetry, Mr. Prichard has succeeded, at immense pains, in removing the mystery which has hitherto surrounded the personality of Maurice Kyffin. He proves to have been one of those dashing Elizabethan Welshmen of the type Shakespeare has drawn for us —quick of wit and of temper, ready with sword and with pen, learned in the classics, in the Continental languages, and in English, but all the while cherishing Welsh and the ability to speak and write it. Apart altogether from the value of the *Deffynniad* as a masterpiece of Welsh prose, the book is well worth getting for the sake of the introduction in which Mr. Prichard Williams enables one to make the acquaintance of so charming a character.

The Welsh Folk-song Society is to be congratulated on the excellence of the first number of its *Journal.* It is plain that the activities of the Society have come along

' in the nick of time ' to rescue many a gem that must otherwise have vanished, with a passing generation, into the darkness of things forgot. The *Journal* is clearly destined to be a delight to lovers of music and of Welsh lore. In the same connection, it should be mentioned that Messrs. Boosey & Co. have brought out the second part of their *Welsh Melodies*. This admirable production differs from many compilations professedly of the same kind, not only by reason of really competent musical editorship, but also because the songs have Welsh and English words which suit the tunes and are genuine counterparts one of the other. I believe the main reason why Welsh songs are practically unknown to the English musical public, while the Scots and Irish ones are deservedly so popular with them, is that the tunes have generally been presented in association with utter rubbish by way of English words. One remembers, for instance, a very well-known volume, still regarded as authoritative, in which Ceiriog's magnificent poem ' Yn Nyffryn Clwyd ' is accompanied by some balderdash about a ship which sets out ' manned by a captain and his men ! ' In the case of *Welsh Melodies* most of the translations are from the pen of Mr. A. P. Graves, and they include some delightful specimens of his work. Wales has reason to thank Mr. Graves for lending his genius to the setting forth of her songs so that English-reading musicians may have opportunity to appreciate them at their full worth.

Learned and painstaking though it be, Professor L. C. Stern's article on Dafydd ab Gwilym in the latest number of the *Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie* is not to be considered the final pronouncement as to the dates of the great Welsh poet's birth and death. Mr. Ivor Williams, M.A., of Bangor University College, contributes to the May *Traethodydd* an article which should not be overlooked by any one interested in these points or in the persons mentioned in Dafydd's poems. Mr. Williams gives, too, a clear and dispassionate statement of the evidence available regarding some of the cywyddau of which the authenticity has been disputed.

M. François Vallée, to whom the Breton language movement owes more than to any other man living, has done Brittany another great service by the publication of *La Langue Bretonne en 40 Lecons.* This admirable handbook is based on a plan entirely different from that of the same author's *Lecons Elémentaires de Grammaire Bretonne*, and it is evident that M. Vallée has been studying the method of Father O'Growney. The mutations are not introduced until some progress has been made with the vocabulary, and illustrative sentences are numerous. Indeed, the student who knows something of any one of the Celtic languages, though nothing of Breton, will find himself immediately interested by the passages in which the Celtic is accompanied by an interlined French translation. The book is published at l'Imprimerie Saint-Guillaume, Boulevard Charner, Saint Brieuc. I should add that it contains, by way of supplement, a complete statement of the *accord* recently arrived at by representative Breton writers with regard to the spelling of the language and the modification of differences in the matter of dialect. This is a subject of prime importance to the future of Breton, and one is glad to notice that the number of writers who have signified their adhesion to the *accord* is steadily increasing.

Another interesting item of Breton bibliography is the announcement that a second volume of *Barzaz Taldir* may be expected before long. M. Jaffrennou is certainly the most gifted of living Breton poets. When one glances again through the pages of the splendid volume he issued in 1903, indeed, one is tempted to write that no living Celtic poet surpasses him in genius. Should his second volume manifest any substantial advance on the best work in the first, it will no longer be possible to deny *Taldir* even that high tribute.

L'Union Régionaliste Bretonne holds its eleventh annual congress from September 9 to 15, at Pontrieux. The programme does not differ materially from those of the congresses of recent years, excepting that it includes the erection of a memorial to Le Brigand, friend of La Tour d'Auvergne. Advantage will be taken of the local fair to endeavour to

awaken the sentiment of Breton nationality among the peasantry of the surrounding district, whom it would otherwise be difficult to reach.

An interesting discussion has been going on in the Franco-Breton press as to the game called *la soule* (in Breton, *ar vell*) and the possibility of its revival as a national pastime. It must have been a fairly vigorous form of recreation, to judge from the description given by a correspondent of *Le Pays Breton*, who remembers it being played in the college of Redon about 1870. Says he : ' Une grosse boule de cuir était déposé en milieu de la cour de récréation, les joueurs, divisés en deux camps, et armés de batons recourbés, s'efforçaient d'attirer la soule, chacun vers le mur opposé, et quand celle-ci avait touché le mur la partie était gagnée. Ce jeu avait toujours un très grand succès, et on s'y livrait avec une ardeur qui n'était pas toujours sans laisser des traces, bien qu'il n'y ait jamais eu à ma connaissance de suites facheuses.' From this it seems that *la soule* was closely allied to the *hurling* of Ireland and Cornwall. Another writer, however (Monsieur Prosper Hémon, of Saint Brieuc), makes it appear that *la soule* resembled rather the fierce inter-parochial games of ' football ' described in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*. According to him, the ball was often of wood, the contestants represented parishes or parts of parishes, and ' le jeu . . . est très ancien, et offre toute la brutalité des temps primitifs et barbares.'

I should be glad to believe that there is justification for the hopeful view taken by Ar Barz Tangwall (M. P. Diverrès) with regard to the Celtic situation in Cornwall. ' A l'heure actuelle,' he says in a Franco-Breton weekly, ' il existe un certain nombre de Cornouailles qui ont appris le Cornique et qui le parlent. . . . Ces ardents patriotes, estiment que tout n'est pas encore perdu, luttent du mieux qu'ils peuvent pour la renaissance de leur idiome national. Espérons que bientot la réussite viendra couronner leurs efforts, car, maintenant encore, l'anglais vulgaire parlé dans le Cornwall contient une foule de mots et d'expressions corniques, et leur entreprise n'est pas chimérique.'

All who have had experience of the unfair treatment sometimes meted to Celtic-speaking witnesses by monoglot English magistrates will be interested in the conduct of an important trial at Carpentras during May. The majority of the witnesses appealed to the President of the Court for permission to give evidence in Provençal, saying that it was the only language of which they had complete command. Parisian advocates engaged in the case objected on the ground that they did not understand Provençal; but the President replied that they could avail themselves of the services of an interpreter, and that, in the interests of exact truth, the request of the witnesses would be granted.

S. R. J.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ed. Paul Hinneberg. Teil I., Abteilung XI., i. 'Die romanischen Litteraturen und Sprachen *mit Einschluss des Keltischen.*'

Almost one third of this stately volume is occupied by a history of Celtic literature. It may be said without hesitation, that this is the best scientific and at the same time popular account we possess of Celtic literature. Three eminent German scholars have contributed to the task: Professor Zimmer and Dr. Stern of Berlin and Professor Kuno Meyer of Liverpool.

Professor Zimmer deals with the Celtic languages and literatures in general, and gives a very good history of the language movements. In the introduction he speaks of the great influence the Celts have ever exercised upon the peoples of Europe, how in the first centuries before Christ they transmitted to the Teutonic race the Mediterranean culture, how during the middle ages they were the only nation which preserved the treasures of classical civilisation and handed them over to the Teutonic and Romance nations, and how later on the Arthurian legend came to the poets of these nations like a mighty new revelation which filled their brains and hearts with the burning inspiration of the Celtic genius, an inspiration that has not ceased even in our day.

Speaking of the history of the Celtic languages, the learned Professor says that according to his opinion the first Celts did not reach the British Islands before the fifth century B.C. He does not tell us anything about the detailed history of the Celtic invasions, but I understand he is working at these problems.

The most interesting chapters are those concerning the language movements, and as the book may not be accessible to every reader of this *Review*, I propose to give some striking passages in full. He shows that in 1801, when the severe penal laws, that had been oppressing the Irish

language for more than three hundred years, were removed, Irish-Gaelic was yet the language of the people, that of the 5,200,000 inhabitants, about 4,000,000 spoke their native tongue. From this it would seem that the most dangerous enemies of the Irish language are not to be found in England, but amongst the Irish themselves. For what continual attacks for so many centuries could not effect, happened in less than one century: the Irish people themselves abandoned their native tongue. The deadly blow to the Irish language was given by the Catholic Church. In vain thousands and thousands of Irishmen had shed their blood for their religion and offered their lives upon the altars of the Catholic faith. The truest and most faithful children of the Holy Father were robbed of their most sacred possession through the ignorance of their priests, who thought themselves too good to speak the language of their people. When in 1778 the Catholic Church was freed from its bonds and the English government offered a sum for founding a clerical college, it seemed but natural that this new free institution—subject to only the Catholic Church—would have been organised according to the real wants of the Catholic Irish population, nine-tenths of which understood Irish and more than half of which could not speak English. But nothing of this kind was done, Maynooth was organised as a Catholic missionary station for the English-speaking population, like any English college. Not only that: in the very time when the clergy took up the teaching in the Catholic schools, English was made the language of public instruction; there was plenty of Catholic teaching, but Irish was not even taught as a modern foreign language, like French, but was totally ignored up to the end of the nineteenth century. Laymen and clergymen, instead of regenerating the native literature, turned to the English language, where they could enjoy themselves without any great exertion. The people, when they saw how their college-bred brethren began to show contempt for their native tongue, grew ashamed of their own mother-tongue, and this shame, combined with the ever-increasing emigration from purely Irish districts, resulted in the old beautiful Irish language melting away like snow in the heat of the summer sun. At last came the revival, and heroic efforts were made to save the sacred legacy of a great past. Professor Zimmer concludes his spirited remarks on the Irish movement by saying that all efforts to preserve the Irish language will be in vain if the peasantry cannot be induced to throw off the stupid shame of their own mother-tongue, and if a stop is not put to the ever-increasing flood of emigration from the Irish-speaking districts. We earnestly hope that the heroic efforts of the Gaelic League will turn out a brilliant success, and that once more a shining radiance may emanate from the West and overflood the whole of Europe with the burning light of Celtic genius! In Scotland, though the reasons were different, the result is the same. But though to-day the number of Gaelic speakers is much smaller than in Ireland, the position of the Gaelic language ought to be much stronger, because the Protestant religion with its preaching, Bible, sacred songs and

a rich religious literature, is a wonderful support for the national language. On the other hand, neither the Church nor An Comunn Gaidhealach can be regarded as doing their full duty by the Gaelic language. Zimmer thinks that the old language of the Isle of Man is hopelessly lost, the chief reasons being that the Gaelic inhabitants have been emigrating since 1823, while the island is becoming more and more a holiday resort for English speakers, especially for the inhabitants of Manchester and Liverpool. In 1770 the number of Manx speakers was yet so considerable that Bishop Dr. Hildesley thought it necessary to translate the whole Bible into Manx and to print it.

The position of the Welsh language is firmly established, but Professor Zimmer utters a serious warning to all patriotic Welshmen, and I should wish that no Cymro would close his ear to the warning voice of the great Celtic scholar. For the end of the nineteenth century has brought to Wales institutions that must become in time as fatal to the Welsh nationality as Maynooth and the Catholic education have been for Ireland. Regular intermediate schools and even Universities have been established, but this whole 'national' education is founded on 'English' as the national language, the lectures in the Universities and intermediate schools are delivered in English, the Welsh language is treated as a *foreign* language and is not even compulsory. In the elementary schools Welsh can be taught only if the local government allow or wish it. Though there are many things strengthening the Welsh language—a beautiful book-literature (since 1801 more than eight thousand five hundred different works have been published), a rich periodical literature, not forgetting the Bible, preaching, and Sunday school, the danger is very great and Professor Zimmer has very serious doubts if the position of the Welsh language will be as strong at the end of the twentieth century as it is to-day.

The Celtic speakers in Brittany are threatened by serious dangers, for not only the public elementary schools but also the private Catholic schools have been totally denationalised, so that one may often meet, as in Ireland and in Scotland, the sad fact that the children cannot converse with their grandparents except only by means of gestures.

After giving a short survey of the history of the Celtic languages from the philological point of view, Professor Zimmer proceeds to deal with the characteristics of the Celtic literatures. First, he speaks of literary classes. He says the reason storytellers were so highly esteemed in Ireland, while in Wales they did not compare with the bards, is explained through the different social conditions. Ireland was comparatively quiet from the fifth century to the Viking period, therefore lyrical poets had not much material and the people enjoyed themselves by listening to wonderful stories. But the Welshmen had to fight an everlasting war with Gaelic pirates and Saxons, and every fresh battle gave impetus for fresh songs, and the chiefs—eager for glory—despised the foolish fairy tales and delighted rather in the praise of their own feats. That is doubtless *one* reason for the fact, that Wales has preserved so little of epic literature,

but other reasons were at work too. For the same reason the greater bulk of Welsh literature is rhymed poetry, while the older Irish literature is almost exclusively written in prose, for prose is the Celtic form for the epic (foreign poetical works are rewritten by the Celts in the form of prose epics). The introduction of strophical *ballads* is due, according to Zimmer, to the influence of Norse poetry, while the Norsemen learned from the Celts the epic form, or saga, and the origin of the prose romances of the middle ages has to be ascribed to Celtic (Breton) influence. Then he points out the virtues and faults of Celtic literature, the latter consisting chiefly in the inability to produce really great results. Professor Zimmer is very sceptical as to the Celtic renaissance, and reproaches the Celts with dreaming too much, and doing too little.

I wish with all my heart that he may be wrong therein, and that the Celts may at least show to the world that they are able to fight for their own individuality, and that they will remember always, that 'the people that cannot fight must die!' Though the new century has already brought much success to the Celtic movements, the dangers have never been greater than now, and the times require strong men and strong characters.

Professor Meyer gives an excellent account of Irish-Gaelic literature, while Dr. Stern does the same for the other Celtic literatures. I have already occupied so much space that I may only say that they have fulfilled their tasks in the best possible way. JULIUS POKORNY.

The *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, vol. vii. part 1, is almost entirely devoted to a monograph by L. C. Stern upon 'Davydd ab Gwilym, a Welsh Minne-singer.' Professor Stern gives and translates selections from the great bard. Professor Lindsay of St. Andrews communicates (*ibid.*, pp. 266-267) his reading of 'Irish Glosses from Ambr. F 60,' a Milan MS. of the Sententiae Patrum, to be found in the *Thesaurus*, vol. ii. p. 234; and proposes the extension *Augustin* of a contraction in the *Codex of St. Paul* (pp. 290-291). Professor Kuno Meyer gives some Old Irish verse proverbs (pp. 268-269), and other contributions. Professor Zimmer replies to a criticism of Whitley Stokes, and discusses at length the Old Irish words allied to the modern *urnaigh*, prayer. 'Gaelic Surnames from Galloway' are contributed by W. E. Crum. A letter of W. J. Thoms to Jacob Grimm in 1848 is published.

C. Sarauw has an interesting article upon the sound-values of Irish *l*, *n*, *r*, in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. xlii. pp. 53-61.

In the *Anzeiger* appended to the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. xxiii., there is a valuable Celtic bibliography for 1905 (pp. 451-456). Whitley Stokes points out three s-presents in Irish (*éssim*, I ask; *géssim*, I cry; *léssaim*, I beat violently, whence English 'lace' in *I. F.*, vol. xxii. pp. 335-336). Some Celtic words appear in the index of the same volume, pp. 426-427. To Professor Thurneysen is due an obituary notice (in *Anzeiger*, vol. xxii. pp. 79-80) of John Strachan, whose light still burns among us.

A. O. A.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 15, 1909

ASPIRATION IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

IN the last number of the *Celtic Review* (p. 4) reference was made to the phase of Consonantal Mutation popularly known as Aspiration, in connection with Gaelic Orthography. It is now proposed to consider this feature of Celtic Phonology more in detail, especially as it manifests itself in Scottish Gaelic. The term was not perhaps happily chosen. But it is well known, and in this respect possesses some advantage over the more accurate and descriptive Vocalic Infection sometimes substituted for it. The phonetic process thus named is one of many by means of which we strive unconsciously after ease of utterance, and is, like all such, ultimately governed by the law of least effort in the production of speech-sounds. Aspiration is thus met with in all languages, and singularly enough, although it has come to be regarded as a special feature of the Celtic dialects, the original tongue seems to have been more free of it than its sisters of the Aryan family. But long before any branch of Celtic was committed to writing the people appear to have aspirated their consonants freely, and to have practised the habit in their use of a foreign language. Thus while Gaelic, like English, has been satisfied with simply aspirating the *t* in the old nouns of kindred—a*th*air, 'father,' mà*th*air 'mother,' etc., the French language, which phonetically may be regarded as vulgar Latin operated upon by Celtic vocal chords, changed *pater* and *mater*, or rather *patrem*

and *matrem*, not merely into pa*th*er and ma*th*er, but even into *père* and *mère*.

Among the living Celtic dialects Aspiration is fully as active in the Brythonic group as in the Goidelic. In the latter this mutation proceeds on the same lines, and is subject to the same general law, in Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx. But in the written page Irish frequently preserves vocalised consonants which Scottish Gaelic drops —the suffix *-amhail*, *e.g.* written in full in Irish, is with us reduced to *-ail*. Again Manx, which is written more phonetically than Scottish Gaelic, suppresses a still greater number of silent consonants which we preserve—our *pathadh*, 'thirst,' is in Manx written *paagh*, our *gobhar*, 'goat,' is *goayr*.

Within the Gaelic-speaking area in Scotland, there is considerable divergence, with respect to the aspiration of individual words, in the various localities, a full account of which will be found in the valuable papers on the 'Gaelic Dialects' contributed by the Rev. C. M. Robertson to vols. iii., iv., and v. of the *Celtic Review*. Speaking generally, it may be said that the northern districts show on the whole a greater tendency to aspirate than the southern. More especially northern Gaelic is readier to vocalise aspirated sounds than southern Gaelic. Thus while all over the area such words as *domhain*, 'deep,' *tabhairt*, 'giving,' with many more, are sounded *do'ain*, *to'irt*, hundreds of others, such as *abhainn*, 'river,' *gamhainn*, 'stirk,' the class of verbal nouns ending in *-adh*, which retain the aspirated sounds of the consonants in the south, are vocalised in the north. On the other hand, in a few cases, notably in *-ibh* of the dative plural, the north preserves the syllable in vocalised form *-iu*, while the south either preserves it in aspirated form or drops it altogether. North, *ris na daoiniu*; south, *ris na daoinibh* (rarely), *ris na daoine* 'to the men.'

All the consonants have their aspirated sounds, although in Scotland it is not the practice to mark in writing the

aspiration of the liquids *l*, *n*, *r*. The aspirated sound may occupy the initial, medial, or final position in the word—one or all. We have thus Initial, Medial, and Final Aspiration to consider, and for convenience we take them in the following order: Medial, Final, Initial.

I. *Medial Aspiration.*—The Rule is that a single consonant (or a consonant followed by a liquid) standing between two vowels aspirates. We say that the *t* in the old words *athair*, *màthair*, aspirates because it is a single consonant sound, and is and always has been flanked by vowels. So of the numeral *ceithir*, 'four.' The rule holds with respect to words borrowed into the language as well as to native words. Gaelic has borrowed from Latin from very early times, especially ecclesiastical and military terms. Take the following. We do not well know why the early Gaelic missionaries did not accept the native word *cin*, now *cionta*, to express the theological conception conveyed by *peccatum*. Anyhow they borrowed this word. The Gael also borrowed *sagitta* from the same language, whether or not they practised archery before they came into contact with Roman civilisation. In the case of loan-words the practice was to drop the syllable of flexion, and borrow only the stem. But our Gaelic scholars were careful to show in their orthography that they copied the sound of the borrowed stem as accurately as the phonesis of the two languages permitted. So they wrote these words at first *peccat*, *saiget*; later *peccad*, *saiged*; and now when we mark the aspiration of *d* and *g*, *peacadh*, *saighead*. The vowel-flanked single consonants are aspirated; the double consonants are not. As a rule in these borrowed words, whether aspirated or not, the stronger sound gives way in process of time to a weaker, as here a *cc* to a *c* and a *tt* to even a *d*. But this is not always the case. *Sacerd-os* has become *sagart* in Gaelic. The tenuis *c* has become median *g* according to rule, but median *d* has become tenuis *t*, a case of what is technically termed *Provection*, probably through contact with the *r* sound.

The next stage in phonetic decay is to vocalise the aspirated sound. We have had examples in changing *pater* to *père* in France, and *abhainn* to *auinn* in the North Highlands. Lowland Scots is particularly liable to vocalise consonantal sounds, the Glasgow feat of converting *water* to *wa'er* being well known. Comparison with kindred tongues shows that the Celt practised vocalisation early: *sua(i)n*, 'sleep,' has its cognate in *somnus*, itself a decadent form of *sompnus*; *nua(dh)* in *novus*; and *naoi* in *novem*.

In the modern language we find many unaspirated single consonants flanked by vowels. The greater number of these can be easily explained, and we could probably explain them all if we knew exactly how they came by their present form. Thus in such examples as po*b*ull, o*b*air, the *b* represents a *p*—po*p*ul-us, o*p*er-a. Here, instead of aspirating the vowel-flanked *p*, another mode of facilitating ease of utterance was adopted, that named by Zeuss *destitutio tenuium*, the reducing of a strong sound to a weaker one. But the greater number of seeming exceptions to the rule is explained by the fact that the single consonant in the language of to-day represents a double consonant, as in the case of peacadh for pe*cc*at-um, or two consonants one of which has disappeared in obedience to one or other of our phonetic laws. In such words as *flaitheanas*, 'lordship,' 'heaven,' *breitheanas*, 'judgment,' formed from *flaithem* and *brithem*, the *m* which preceded the *n* aspirated first and subsequently vocalised and disappeared—*flaithemnas*, *flaitheamhnas*, *flaitheanas*. So the personal name *Mànus* through *Maghnus* derives from *Magnus*. The Gaels wrote *Saxon* originally *Sacsan*; thereafter *Sachsan*, *Saghsunn*; and finally *Sasunn*.

II. *Final Aspiration.*—The aspiration or non-aspiration of final consonants in Gaelic is explained in the same way as that of medial consonants. Here the loan-words are of special significance. We know the exact form of the borrowed word, and approximately the date of the loan. To take our former examples: the final *dh* of *peacadh* is aspirated because the *t* of pecca*t*-um was a single consonant vowel-

flanked, and the *d* of saighead was not aspirated because it represents a double consonant in the lending language—sagitta. The Latin word *cleric-us* was borrowed into English as well as into Gaelic. But the English word became simply *cleric* in the singular, with *clerics* in the plural. The Gael subjected the loan to the phonetics as well as to the grammatical forms of his own language. The final *c* of *clericus* was in the singular followed by a broad vowel, and in the loan not only must the *c* be aspirated but the *ch* must retain its broad sound. So we write cleir*eac*h. The plural was, however, *cleric-i*, a small vowel following the guttural, and Gaelic follows suit and writes cleir*ich*.

Our native words have come down to us docked of their final syllables. Thus our *fàidh*, 'prophet,' was in early Celtic *vat-is*, the *t* standing between two vowels—hence the aspiration. *Deich*, 'ten,' stands for *dec-en* and is aspirated, while *còig* or *cùig*, 'five,' stands for *quinq-e* and is unaspirated. *Fichead*, 'twenty,' was originally *vicent-e*, and according to strict phonetic rule in Celtic the *c* aspirates, the nasal disappears before the dental, while the *tenuis t* sinks to the median *d*. Thus the Final Aspiration of the modern language is largely but the Medial Aspiration of the earlier forms from which the speech of to-day has developed.

There are, of course, large numbers of words now ending in a single consonant and unaspirated. The explanation offered regarding unaspirated single consonants in medial position applies to these. Many of them, such as *mac*, 'son,' 'boy'; *muc*, 'pig'; *ceum*, 'step,' were in the old language, written with the consonant doubled—macc, mucc, ceim*m*. Others such as *ceud*, 'first,' 'hundred,' have developed from a stem *cent—nt* being now represented by *d*, which does not aspirate. And so of other combinations represented now by a single consonant sound.

III. *Initial Aspiration.*—Medial and Final Aspiration are met with in the sister languages, but Initial Aspiration, as developed in the Celtic dialects, is unknown among the other members of the Aryan family. This linguistic feature is

accounted for, as Principal Sir John Rhys puts it, ' by the universal Celtic custom of speaking in phrases,' a custom not entirely confined to the Celts, but one which in their case has been so pronounced as to permanently modify their language. We sound two (or more) words which are in close grammatical relation as one word, under one main accent, and the phrase thus sounded is treated by us phonetically as if it were a single word. All the phonetic processes which operate in an individual word operate in this phrase or Speech-unit, as we sometimes term it. The Preposition and its object form such an unit. Where the object is a Personal Pronoun we have by this habit of speaking crushed the two words into one, so that we are unable to disentangle them. *Leam*, ' with me,' *e.g.* is a combination of the preposition *le* and the pronoun *mi*, permanently welded into one indissoluble word. The Prepositional-pronouns present a linguistic form found in Agglutinative Languages, but outside Celtic, not in the Indo-European family.

Let us endeavour to apply this principle to the consonant mutation which we call Initial Aspiration. It is manifest that in the phrase or Speech-unit if a word originally ended in a vowel sound (whether it does so now or not), and the next word began with a single consonant sound followed by a vowel, such consonant became vowel-flanked, and in an individual word would be aspirated. The same change occurs in the unit.

Vocative Case. The vocative case of nouns is preceded by a breathing in Gaelic, a short or long *a*, or long *o* as in English and Greek. The initial consonant of the noun, when followed by a vowel, becomes thus vowel-flanked and aspirates. In *màthair*, ' mother,' and *bràthair*, ' brother,' we say the *t* is permanently aspirated because it stands between two vowels ; in *a mhàthair, a bhràthair*, we say the *m* and *b* are temporarily aspirated for the same reason—they are temporarily vowel-flanked.

Possessive Pronoun and Noun. The Possessive Pronoun and Noun form such an unit. The first and second persons

singular, *mo* and *do*, with vocalic ending, cause aspiration—*mo mhàthair, do phiuthar*. The third person singular for both Masc. and Fem. is *a*. The former causes aspiration, the latter does not—*a mhathair*, 'his mother,' but *a màthair*, 'her mother.' Not only so, but when these pronouns precede a noun of initial vowel sound, the Masc. assimilates with the adjoining vowel, the Fem. does not—(*a*) *athair*, 'his father,' but *a h-athair*, 'her father.' Neither Old nor Modern Gaelic can explain the anomaly. But Sanscrit gives *asya*, of vocalic final sound, as a form for 'his,' and *asyas*, with consonantal auslaut or out-sound, for 'her.' The Gaelic form of the Fem. ended at one time, without doubt, in a consonant, and the evidence is with us to this day. The plural of the possessive pronoun ends in a nasal, although in modern Scottish Gaelic the *n* shows in the first and second persons only before vowels—*ar n-athair*, but *ar bò*, our cow.' Here Irish has preserved the full form, *ar m-bò*, the *n* becoming *m* before *b*. The same observation holds good of *bhur* or *ur*, 'your.'

Tense-particle and Verb. In the old language there were three particles, *do, no, ro*, which with the flexions of the verb served to indicate Tense. Of these *do* alone survives, and marks the Past Tense. With the verb it forms a unit and causes aspiration. In present-day Scottish Gaelic *do* is usually suppressed in the Affirmative Mood before verbs beginning with a consonant but the aspiration remains: (*do*) *bhuail mi*, 'I struck'; as well as *cha do bhuail mi*, 'I did not strike'; *an do bhuail mi?* 'did I strike?' With verbs of initial vowel sound and *f*, the *o* of *do* assimilates with the vowel of the verb, and in the Affirmative Mood *d* aspirates—*dh'òl mi*, 'I drank'; *dh'(fh)àg mi*, 'I left.' In the Negative and Interrogative Moods the preceding nasal, whether expressed or not, checks the aspiration of the *d*—*cha(n) d'ol mi*, 'I did not drink'; *an d'òl mi*? 'did I drink'?

Preposition and Object. The Preposition and Noun object form a Speech-unit. Without pausing to consider each preposition separately, it may be said generally that

the prepositions which end and always ended in a vowel, *de, do, fo, o* (*bho*), *mu*, cause aspiration of the object—*de dhaoine*, 'of men'; *fo bhòrd*, 'under a table'; *mu cheud*, 'about a hundred'; while those that have always had a consonantal ending do not, *an*(*n*), *a*(*s*), *aig, thar*, etc.—(*ann*) *an coire*, 'in a cauldron'; *aig baile*, 'at a city,' 'at home'; *thar balla*, 'over a wall.' The facts would justify us in inferring, even were we unable to prove the matter otherwise, that *gu, le, ri*, which do not cause aspiration, must have originally ended in a consonant, and that *gun*, which causes aspiration, at one time ended in a vowel. *Air* sometimes aspirates, sometimes does not. This preposition in the modern language represents three separate prepositions in the old language—*ar*, 'before,' of vocalic auslaut, and still causing aspiration in such phrases as *aon-ar-*(not *thar*, which does not cause aspiration)-*fhichead*, 'twenty-one'; *iar n-*, 'after,' with nasal auslaut, the nasal still surviving in such phrases as *uidh air n-uidh*, 'step by step,' 'gradually'; *iochd air n-achd*, 'willy-nilly'; and *for*, 'upon,' of consonantal ending, and not causing aspiration.

Conjunction and Verb. The conjunction and verb form an unit, and these tell the same tale. *Gu'n*, for example, with nasal auslaut, does not permit aspiration, *gu'n cual*(*a*) *thu*, 'that you heard,' while, *ma*, 'if,' *o*, 'since,' *mar*, 'as,' aspirate: *ma bhuail thu*, 'if you struck'; *o thàinig e*, 'since he came,' etc.

Article and Noun. The combination of the Article and Noun forms a Speech-unit, but the initial aspiration of a Noun after the Article presents anomalies which can only be explained by a knowledge of the forms of the Article when Aspiration became a fixed rule in the language—that is, in pre-historic times.

The permanent form of the Article is now *an*, but even the modern language provides evidence that this part of speech began with *s* and had a *t* following the *n*, yielding a form *sant*. Certain prepositions *an*(*n*), *gu, le, ri* (to which modern Irish adds others, *do* and *de*, for example) assume an *s*

when the Noun-object takes the Article, *anns, gus, leis, ris, an tigh*,' ' in, to, with, against, the house.' This *s* is properly the initial sound of the Article, but became separated from it and joined to the preposition. The *t* found in certain positions with the Article—*an t-athair*, ' the father ' ; *an t-slat*, ' the rod ' ; *leis an t-sruth*, ' with the current ' ; *aig an t-sréin*, ' at the bridle '—also belongs to it, but was in writing separated from it. Thus the speech of to-day shows that the Gaelic Article was at one time *sant*.

If now we proceed a step further and examine the declensional forms preserved in the Ogham and Gaulish Inscriptions, and confront these with the parallel forms of the other Aryan languages, Latin and Greek, *e.g.*, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the Gaelic Article was declined in Proto-celtic like an Adjective of the (so called) First and Second Declensions in Latin and Greek (*i.e.* Masculine and Neuter *o*-stem, Feminine a-stem), and that its full form in the Nominative Singular was, approximately, *sant-* or *send-os -e -on*. In Gaulish, as in Gaelic, the terminal of the Nominative Neuter, the Accusative Singular, and Genitive Plural was not *m* as in Latin, but *n* as in Greek. Our Article would thus decline like *φίλ-ος -η -ον* rather than like *bon-us -a -um*. With respect to the forms that concern us here, the Celtic Article would decline thus (cf. Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, pp. 100-2):

	Singular.			Dual.			Plural.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
Nom.	Send-os	-e	-on	Send-ō	-ē(ī)	-ō	Send-oi(ī)	-ās	-a
Gen.	,, -ī	-ēs	-ī	,, -ō	-ō	-ō	,, -ōn	-ōn	-ōn
Dat.	,, -ū	-ē(ī)	-ū	,, -obin	-ābin	-obin	,, -obos	-ābos	-obos
Acc.	,, -on	-in	-on	,, -ō	-e(ī)	-ō	,, -ōss	-āss	-a

For present purposes several of these forms may be passed over. The oldest form of the Dual of the Article that has come to us is uniformly *in*. The old Dative Plural form disappeared in the case of the Article very early. The Accusative Plural gave way to the

Nominative Plural. The Neuter form (*send-on*) must have become early crushed into (*s*)*an*, for in our oldest Gaelic the *n* of the Nominative operated as an original nasal in the Neuter, while it did not do so in the Masculine and Feminine. The terminal *n* of the Accusative Singular was operative as an original nasal until comparatively recent times, and the nasal of the Genitive Plural is active to this day. The Nominative Plural Masculine, of vocalic auslaut and causing aspiration, was long ago discarded in favour of the feminine form *inna, na*, which always resisted aspiration.

In modern Scottish Gaelic we have, in dealing with Aspiration caused by the Article, thus to consider only the Nominative, Genitive, and Dative Singular, and the Nominative Plural. In the Nomintive Singular Masculine, the Article originally ended in a consonant, *send-os*, and to this day no aspiration follows. Not only so, but the final *n* of the present form operates now as though it were an original nasal—we write *am fear*, but usually say *a fear*, instead of the old *in fer*, 'the man.' The Genitive and Dative Singular Masculine were of vocalic ending, and the Article still causes aspiration in these cases: *dath a*(*n*) *choin*, 'colour of the dog'; *do* (*a*)*n chù*, 'to the dog.' The Nominative and Dative Singular of the Feminine ended in a vowel, and the following noun always aspirates: *a*(*n*) *bhean*, 'the woman'; *do* (*a*)*n mhnaoi*, 'to the woman.' The Genitive Singular and Nominative Plural of the Feminine resist aspiration: *fad na coise*, 'length of the foot'; *na casan*, 'the feet.' Not only so, but the final vowel of the Article refuses to assimilate with the initial vowel of a following noun: *làmh na h-òighe*, 'the hand of the virgin'; *na h-oighean*, 'the virgins.' So in the modern Nominative Plural Masculine, which has taken the Feminine form of the Article: *na fir*,' the men,' for the old *ind fhir*; *na h-aithrichean*, 'the fathers.'

The original nasal of the Genitive Plural of the Article (Proto-celtic *send-ōn*, old Gaelic *innan*, modern Gaelic *nan*) is

perhaps the most interesting survival in the modern language of our declensional forms. But the explanation of non-aspiration by the Article of the Genitive Singular and Nominative Plural Feminine points to, if possible, a still more interesting case, although surviving only in its effects. This declension—the Feminine *a*-stem—yields in Greek in the Genitive Singular the form *-ēs*. This consonant-ending disappeared in Latin in pre-classical times, and survives only in a stereotyped phrase—pater-familiās, the classical termination being *-ae*. The form is found in a Gaulish Inscription—Vepasones, which the late Dr. Stokes (*Celtic Declension*, p. 59) read as the Genitive Singular of Vepasona. This would yield in Proto-celtic in the plural *-as*, while in Greek the form in the plural is vocalised *-ai*. If the echo of this terminal consonant *s*, which disappeared from Latin in pre-classical days, and, in the plural, even from Greek, accounts for the non-aspiration after the Genitive Singular Feminine and Nominative Plural of the Gaelic Article, as evidently must be the case, it is a remarkable example, among many, of the tenacity with which the people preserved in their sounds traces of phonetic decay in the language.

Noun and Adjective. Noun and Adjective form a Speech-unit, and what has been said regarding the aspiration of the noun following the Article applies *pro tanto* to the Adjective following the Noun. But in addition to this the Law of Analogy operates here. In the modern language the Adjective aspirates in the Nominative and Dative Singular after all Feminine Nouns. By phonetic law it ought to do so only after cases of original vocalic ending. It would appear that the great Feminine *-a* declension was taken as the type to which adjectives in the matter of aspiration should conform. In the same way all Adjectives aspirate in the Genitive Singular after Masculine Nouns. It would appear in this case that the other declensions followed the lead of the Masculine *-o* declension. But they have not done so in the Nominative Plural, where the Masculine *o*-stem alone causes the Adjec-

tive to aspirate—*fir mhòra*, 'great men,' but *daoine mòra*. It may be added with respect to the Adjective that, as in the case of the Article, the old Feminine form of the plural stands now for the Masculine also, except when the Adjective is used as a noun: *daoine beaga*, 'little men,' but *na big*, 'the little ones.' Further in the Dative Singular the Adjective aspirates only when the Article precedes the Noun: *le fear mor*, 'with a big man,' but *leis an fhear mhor*, 'with the big man,' while of recent years, especially in Scottish Gaelic, there is a growing habit of conforming, in the Genitive Singular, the Feminine to the Masculine form of the Adjective: *ré ùine bhig*, 'for a little while,' instead of the older and more correct *ré ùine bige*.

In the class of compound nouns formed by one substantive governing another in the Genitive case, the second noun aspirates where an adjective would aspirate, and is often spoken of as a Noun-Adjective: *athair-céile*, 'father-in-law'; but *màthair-chéile*, 'mother-in-law.'

So much for Initial Aspiration in the Speech-unit. A few other cases fall now to be considered.

Compound Words. In the ordinary process of word-building, the second member of a compound always aspirates in Gaelic: *ro-mhòr*, 'very great'; *neo-ghlan*, 'unclean'; *mì-chliù*, 'reproach'; *àrd-shagart*, 'high priest'; *grad-chuimhnich*, 'quickly remember.' The stems of the first part were frequently of vocalic ending, and the others conformed by analogy. A few, *an-*, *e.g.* of negative, privative, sometimes intensive force, attach to the main concept in a variety of ways: *an-fhann*, 'very weak'; *ain-deoin*, 'unwill'; *an-a-cainnt*, 'evil speech.'

Proper Names in the Genitive. Although the rule was never perhaps very rigid, it was the practice to aspirate a Masculine Proper Name in the Genitive Case, and to leave the Feminine unaspirated: *tigh Dhòmhnaill*, 'Donald's house,' but *banais Mairi*, 'Mary's wedding.' The modern tendency is to aspirate in both cases. The proper name was perhaps looked upon, grammatically, as more or less

equivalent to the Common Noun with the Article, which aspirates in the Genitive Masculine but not in the Feminine.

Special Cases. There are several sporadic cases of Aspiration, some of which are difficult to explain. The common and generally correct way is to assume a word of vocalic auslaut as preceding the aspirated sound. The literary *a chum* is for *do chum*, and the colloquial forms *chon, chun, thun* may probably be explained in the same way. In *Chaidh e a Dhunéideann*, 'He went to Edinburgh,' *a* stands for *do*, and the aspiration is accounted for; in *a mach, a muigh, a* represents the preposition *an*(*n*) and the non-aspiration is explained. But other cases met with can hardly be explained in the same way. The preposition *tar* is always aspirated (*thar*), and *le* and *ri* have always the aspirated *l* and *r* sounds. In Scottish Gaelic the Genitive Plural of Nouns not preceded by the Article is always aspirated.

It may be said generally that in isolated cases Initial Aspiration is on the increase in Scottish Gaelic. Thus the Substantive Verb *ta*, 'is,' has become *tha; is fearr*, '(it) is better,' is oftener than not *is fhearr;* and *co mor*, 'as great,' is generally *cho mor*, while even *cho mhor* is frequently heard.

As stated in the article on Orthography already referred to (p. 7), when sounds of strong assimilative force meet in a Speech-unit, the aspiration which would take place under phonetic rule is checked: *tigh an duine*, 'the man's house,' but *tigh a*(*n*) *choin*, 'the dog's house'; *gun chù*, 'without a dog,' but *gun teine*, 'without a fire'; *mac Chailein*, 'Colin's son,' but *Mac-Cailein*, the Gaelic patronymic of the Duke of Argyll.

THE CONNECTION OF THE ISLE OF MAN WITH IRELAND

A. W. Moore

The Isle of Man has a share in the earliest legends which take the place of history in Ireland before the Christian era, and perhaps for some little time after it. Cuchulainn and Finn, the most celebrated heroes of Irish story, appear in Manx as well as in Irish tales. It was in the Isle of Man that Culann, the famous smith, manufactured a sword, a spear, and a shield for Conchobar MacNessa, which were of such excellence that he was invited to take up his abode in Ireland. The triumph of Lug, the Irish sun-god, was celebrated in the Isle of Man, as in Ireland, early in August, and the Beltain (May) and Samhain (November) festivals were accompanied by similar observances in both countries. Keating,[1] an Irish historian, in relating the adventures of the early colonists of Ireland, tells us that the mythic Firbolg and their allies, after their defeat by the Tuatha De Danann, went to the island of Rathlin, and the western isles of Scotland, while, according to Nennius,[2] they also took possession of Man. The conquerors of the Firbolg, the equally mythic Tuatha De Danann, are brought closely into connection with the Isle of Man through the great Irish magician, Manannan MacLir, who is said to have been one of their chieftains, and who, according to the 'Supposed True Chronicle of the Isle of Man,' was 'the first man that had Mann, or ever was ruler of Mann, and the land was named after him.'[3] Cormac, in his glossary, gives the following account of him :

[1] Keating, *History of Ireland*, pp. 106-108.

[2] *History of Britain*, cap. ii.

[3] Manx Society Publications, vol. xii. p. 5. A copy of this, which was certainly not compiled earlier than the sixteenth century, was prefixed to old copies of the Statute Book.

'Manannan MacLir, a celebrated magician who was in the Isle of Man. He was the best pilot that was in the west of Europe. He used to know by studying the heavens the period which would be the fine weather and the bad weather, and when each of these two times would change. *Inde Scoti et Brittones eum deum vocaverunt maris, et inde filium maris esse dixerunt*, i.e. *MacLir*, son of sea. *Et de nomine Manannan* the Isle of Man *dictus est.*'[1] This theory of the Isle of Man being named after Manannan, when so called, has been shown to be highly improbable by Professor Rhys, who thinks that 'Manannan gave his original name, in a form corresponding to *Manu* and its congeners, to the island, making it *Manavia Insula* . . . for which we have in Welsh and Irish respectively *Manaw* and *Manann*. Then from these names of the island the god derives his in its attested forms of Manawydan and Manannan, which would seem to mark an epoch when he had become famous in connection with the Isle of Man.'[2] This connection began after the defeat of Manannan and his Tuatha De Danann by the Milesians, when he was chosen by the survivors as their leader. He and they then took refuge in the western isles and Man, whose inhabitants acknowledged him as their ruler.[3] Referring again to the 'Supposed True Chronicle of Man,' we find that 'he reigned many years and was a Paynim, and kept by necromancy the Land of Man under mists, and if he dreaded any enemies, he would make of one man to seem an hundred by his art magick, and he never had any farm of the Comons, but each one to bring a certain quantity of green rushes on midsummer eve.'[4] Manannan and his dynasty, according to a story called 'The Exile of the Children of Uisneach,' ruled in Man at the beginning of our present era, as the

[1] Cormac's *Glossary*, the Stokes O'Donovan edition, p. 114.

[2] Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, pp. 663, 664.

[3] O'Curry, *Atlantis*, vol. vii. 226.

[4] Manx Society Publications, vol. xii. p. 6. This last sentence would seem to have been added as a gentle reminder to the Derby rulers of Man that their faithful subjects had not been accustomed to taxation.

fourth of that name is stated to have assisted Gaiar in driving Conchobar, king of Ulster, from his dominions early in the first century. Tighernach, who wrote his annals about the end of the tenth century, records that a colony of Cruithnigh, who were driven out of Ulster by the Milesians, took refuge in the Isle of Man in A.D. 254. It is, however, impossible to be sure whether this statement of Tighernach's is authentic history, or is founded on the mythical story of the expulsion of Manannan by the Milesians related above. The two races, however, mentioned by him are certainly human beings, not gods and demons like the Tuatha De Dannan and Firbolg of the earlier legends. Who the Milesians were we know not, but they were probably Goidels, and the Cruithnigh or Picts are historical. It must, therefore, remain uncertain who were the earliest inhabitants of the island, but we have the authority of Orosius,[1] who wrote in 416 A.D., for the statement that in his time the inhabitants of both Ireland and the Isle of Man were *Scoti*, or the people who in the Celtic languages would be called Gael and Gwyddyl. It would seem probable, however, judging from the populations of the adjacent countries at this period, that, though Goidels were the ruling people, other earlier races were represented. Till the fifth century, then, we have no historical fact recorded in connection with the Isle of Man, except that it had a population similar to that which inhabited Ireland. Nor are we better supplied with historical records during the fifth and three following centuries, though fortunately we are able, to a certain extent, to supply their place through the survival of the names of Irish ecclesiastics in the designations of our parish churches, which are usually on old sites, and of the ancient *keeills* or cells. These names would lead us to suppose that Manxmen were for the most part Christianised by Irish missionaries; and, indeed, it would have been strange if the proselytising Irish monks, who wandered all over Europe,

[1] Manx Society Publications, Lib. I.

had avoided an island so near to them. Whether St. Patrick visited the Isle of Man or not is not certainly known, as the ancient records are silent on this point. The *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*[1] contains the following interesting account of the conversion of Manxmen to Christianity: 'St. Patrick having by means of a miracle converted a wicked man of Ulster called Macc Cuill and his men, the following incident is related. "Then they were silent and said, 'Truly this man Patrick is a man of God.' They all forthwith believed, and Macc Cuill believed, and at Patrick's behest he went in the sea in a coracle of [only] one hide. . . . Now Macc Cuill went on that day to sea, with his right hand toward Mag Inis, till he reached Mann, and found two wonderful men in the island before him. And it is they that preached God's word in Mann, and through their preaching the men of that island were baptized. Conindri and Romuil were their names. Now when these men saw Macc Cuill in his coracle they took him from the sea and received him with a welcome; and he learnt the divine rule with them, until he took the bishopric after them." This is "Macc Cuill from the sea," the illustrious bishop and prelate of Arduimnen.'[2]

With regard to the earliest bishops of the Isle of Man, the monks of Rushen Abbey—and monks are usually credulous in such matters—wrote: 'We are entirely ignorant who or what were the bishops before Roolwer's time (1076); for we neither find any documents on the subject, nor have we any certain accounts handed down by our elders.'[3] Undaunted by this, the later Manx historians have compiled a list of them as follows: 'Amphibalus (doubtful), 360; St. Patrick, 444; St. German, 447; Conindricus, Romulus, etc.' The two latter are clearly the same as those mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*. Colgan gives these names as Conderium et Romailum,

[1] Stokes's translation, p. 223.
[2] Colgan, according to Stokes, has *Ard-Ebnanensis*.
[3] *Chronicon Manix*, Manx Society, vol. xxii. p. 115

which, Professor Rhys conjectures, should become in Manx something like Conner or Coinnir and Rowell or Rowill. With reference to the former of these two names, it is, perhaps, significant that, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, the shrine of DaChonna, probably in Man, was, in 798, plundered by the Norsemen. Now *da*, like *mo*, is a prefix expressing endearment, and removing it we have Conna, so that this shrine may have been that of the holy man mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*. As to Rowell, it is just possible that he may have left his mark in the name of the mountains called Barroole, the creek called Ghaw Roole, and the hill called Knockrule. To Macc Cuill we refer later. His name in the form Coole is common in the Isle of Man at the present day. With regard to St. Patrick, then, the evidence from the *Tripartite Life* would tend to show that he had not visited the Isle of Man. It was reserved for Jocelin, a monk of Furness, writing early in the twelfth century, who may, however, have had access to information not attainable now, to tell us that he did so; and his narrative is expanded and embellished by the *Supposed True Chronicle of Man* and the *Traditionary Ballad*, both probably of not earlier date than the sixteenth century. Whether St. Patrick did or did not come to the island, we have made use of his name freely in our sacred sites. Of our seventeen parish churches and the thirty ancient *keeils*, which have retained their names, the great majority are dedicated to him, and to saints who are known to have been either his disciples or their successors. The names of nine of the parish churches are almost certainly of purely Irish origin, and, of the remaining eight, four are probably Irish, and four of comparatively recent dedication. St. Patrick's own name was given to two, Kirk Patrick, and Kirk Patrick of Jurby. Jurby point, on which the latter church is situated, is said to have once been an island, the *innis Patrick*,[1] where the saint is supposed to have landed. There is also a church on Peel

[1] Some think, and with more probability, that *innis Patrick* is Peel Island.

Island dedicated to him, which is of very early date. Maughold, assuming him to have been identical with the Macc Cuill already mentioned (p. 113),[1] is said to have been one of St. Patrick's earliest disciples, has given his name to a parish, a headland and an islet. The *Book of Armagh* records the marvellous story of his conversion by St. Patrick, and in the other accounts of St. Patrick's life are equally wonderful details about his episcopate. These are all perhaps surpassed by the circumstantial statements in the *Chronicon Manniæ* concerning his reappearance in the twelfth century to strike dead with his staff a daring pirate who had profaned his sanctuary.

It has been suggested that Lonan, St. Patrick's nephew, has given his name to the parish church of Lonan, or, as it is now usually spelled, Lonnan, but it is more probable that this name has been derived from that of Adamnan, the illustrious abbot of Iona, and the writer of the *Life of St. Columba.* This name is pronounced *awnan*, or *onan*, in Ireland, and *Keeill Adamnan* or onan, 'Adamnan's Cell,' easily becomes Lonan. From Connaghyn, as he is called in the 'Traditionary Ballad,' comes the name of the parish church of Conaghan, as it was called in the earliest record, but since contracted into Conchan. It is difficult to connect him with any Irish saint mentioned in the martyrologies, but he is probably identical with St. Connigen, whose name occurs in the calendar of Œngus. The popular idea that Conchan is named after St. Concha (Latin *Concessa*), St. Patrick's mother, cannot be accepted philologically. The parish church of Marown is dedicated to a saint called Maronog[2] in the Irish calendars, Marooney in the 'Traditionary Ballad,' and St. Runi[3] in the manorial roll of 1511. In a Bull of Pope Gregory IX., dated 1231,[4] the church of this parish is called

[1] The phonetic change involved is improbable though not impossible. See *Manx Names*, A. W. Moore, p. 136. Elliot Stock, London, 1903.

[2] The prefix *mo*, 'my,' and the affix *og*, 'young,' are expressive of endearment and are frequently attached to the names of Celtic saints.

[3] Genitive.

[4] See *English Historical Review*, January 1890.

kyrke Marona. In the parish now called Arbory there are two *keeils* dedicated to Cairbre and Columb respectively, the former being an Irish saint and the latter the famous Irish missionary to the Scots, St. Columba. The parish formerly took its name from both of these saints, being sometimes called after one and sometimes after the other. In 1153 it is the parish of *S^ti Columbæ, herbery vocatam.* In 1291 it was Carber's, and in 1511 Columba's parish, but the name of the former has proved more enduring than that of his more illustrious compeer. The church of the parish of Santan or Santon, called in 1511 St. Santan, is named after St. Sanctan, also an Irish saint, not from St. Ann, as the modern map-makers have it. The parish church of Bride, called in 1511 St. Brigide, is dedicated to St. Brigit, the most famous of Irish female saints.

We now come to the names of those parish churches and parishes which are of doubtful, but still probably Irish, origin. With regard to the first of these, that of German, which has been given to the cathedral of the diocese as well as to a parish church and its parish, the 'Traditionary Ballad' tells us that St. Patrick, before he left the Island, 'blessed Saint Germanus, and left him a bishop in it to strengthen the faith more and more.'[1] A difficulty, however, arises from the fact that the name of Germanus does not occur in the Irish calendars, and we have only the comparatively recent authority of Jocelyn for his being St. Patrick's disciple. By way of solving this it may not, perhaps, be unreasonable to conjecture[2] that Germanus was substituted for Coemanus by later writers, who would remember the famous saint of Auxerre, while forgetting the obscure Irishman. This Coemanus, or, as he is called in Irish martyrologies, Mochæmog, is known to have been one of St. Patrick's disciples. The name of the parish church of Braddan has been connected with the famous

[1] Train, *History of the Isle of Man*, p. 52.

[2] This is not an original conjecture of the writer's. He has seen it somewhere, but cannot remember where.

Irish saint and navigator, Brandinus or Brendinus, or with the St. Brandon who, though not mentioned by the monks of Rushen Abbey, was, according to Manx historians, bishop of Sodor and Man from 1098 to 1113. This theory does not seem consonant with orthodox philology, but nevertheless it may be correct. In 1231 the Bull of Pope Gregory IX mentions *terras S^ti Bradarni*, and in 1291 Bishop Mark held a synod at Bradan.

The name of the parish of Rushen, which is first mentioned in 1408 as of *Sanctæ Trinitatis inter prata*, 'of the Holy Trinity among the Meadows,' presents considerable difficulties. In the first manorial roll of 1511 it is called *Parochia S^ti Trinitatis in Rushen*. The most probable interpretation seems to be that Rushen has derived its name from St. Russein of Inis-Picht, whose name is recorded in the martyrology of Tallaght, and who was probably forgotten before 1511, when, Rushen being regarded as a place-name, *in* may have been substituted for *noo*, saint. The parish church of Malew is generally supposed to have derived its name from St. Lupus, the pupil of St. German of Auxerre, who was sent to Britain to confound the Pelagians. In confirmation of this theory may be quoted the inscription on an ancient paten, now in Malew church, *Sancte Lupe, ora pro nobis*, and the entry in the roll of 1511, *Parochia S^ti Lupi*. It is more probable, however, that the name may come from that of an Irish saint, Moliba or Molipa, the Latinised form of Moliu or Malliu, whose name is found in the Calendar of Œngus, and in the form Moliwe in a Bull of Pope Gregory XI., relating to a presentation to this very church, dated 1377. The four remaining parishes, Andreas, Michael, Ballaugh, and Lezayre, had probably no churches till after the connection with Ireland had come to an end; the two latter parishes, indeed, having been mainly occupied by marshes till a comparatively recent date.

Of the ancient *keeills* referred to above, the remains of more than one hundred are still to be found, the earliest

of which probably date from the sixth century, and of their names about thirty survive. They are for the most part of very small size, not exceeding twenty feet by twelve. This fact, and their remarkably irregular distribution, conclusively disprove the theory advanced by the 'Traditionary Ballad' that they were the chapels established by St. German for public worship, one for each four quarterlands.[1] Their only possible use, therefore, was as habitations for the Culdees or clerical recluses. St. Patrick and St. Bridget have each given their names to seven of these *keeills*. St. Martin, possibly the St. Martin who is said to have been St. Patrick's uncle, has one *keeill* called after him. St. Columba has one, and Lingan, also an Irish saint, two.

But it is not only through these names that we are able to trace the intimate connection of the Isle of Man with Ireland between the fifth and eighth centuries, for we find that the round tower on Peel Island is precisely of the same form as that in Ireland, and that the inscriptions in the Ogam character recently discovered are, according to Professor Rhys, of the oldest Irish type. A very significant story, as showing this connection, is related by Cormac in his glossary concerning the visit of Senchan Torpeist, who was chief poet of Ireland from A.D. 649-62, to the Isle of Man. It appears that he took with him fifty poets as his retinue, besides students, and that on their arrival in the island the first person they saw was an old woman on the shore cutting seaweed, who asked them who they were. On their replying, she gave them a couplet of verse and challenged them to give the corresponding couplet, which one of their number did. This anecdote would tend to show that the Isle of Man was one of the regular circuits of the Irish poets, and that its language was at that time identical with the Irish. These visits of Irishmen to the Isle of Man were doubtless returned by visits of Manxmen to Ireland. For it must be remembered that till the end of the eighth century Ireland was the centre of European

[1] Each quarterland contains on an average seventy-five acres.

culture and civilisation as well as of religious zeal, and the Irish Church was so celebrated as a school of learning that students flocked to Ireland from great distances. Till the inroads of the Northmen, there seems to have been only one [1] break in this period of peace and prosperity, which took place at the beginning of the seventh century, when it is recorded by Bede that the Mevanian Islands [2] were conquered by Edwin of Northumbria. It is, however, doubtful if Man is included under this term, for King Alfred, in his translation of Bede's text, substitutes Anglesey for *Mevanias Insulas*, and William of Malmesbury, writing in the twelfth century, quotes Bede's words, and remarks that 'the Mevanian Islands are those which we now call Anglesey, that is, the Isles of the Angles.' [3] It is, however, curious that the plural should be used. Even if the Isle of Man had been conquered by Edwin, there would not have been any permanent results, as the English were driven from the coasts of Cumberland and Lancashire soon afterwards, and consequently it is not likely that they retained their hold on the small island to the west of those coasts. The probability seems to be that the Isle of Man remained under Ultonian rule, and, therefore, in close connection with Ireland, till the incursions of the Northmen, and that even then this connection did not entirely cease, for, if the account in the *Book of Rights* is credible, the Isle of Man was tributary till the tenth century, and the King of Ireland enjoyed 'the fruit of Manann in Tara.' [4]

[1] The exploits attributed to Baetan MacCairill, King of Ulster, at the end of the sixth century, were, till the publication of *Celtic Britain*, by Professor Rhys, supposed to have taken place in the Isle of Man; but he has shown that they really occurred in the region called in Welsh the land of *Manaw*, and by the Goidels *Mannan*, which is the country between the Firths of Clyde and Forth.

[2] *Mevanias Brittonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam sitæ sunt.*—*Ecclesiastical History*, lib. II.

[3] It is perhaps worth noting that Train (*History of the Isle of Man*, pp. 37-49), misled by the identity of the early name of Anglesey—Mona—with that of the Isle of Man, has introduced a dynasty of Welsh kings, whom he made to rule in Man from A.D. 517-919, whereas the Welsh isle was really the sphere of their dominion.

[4] O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, 1847, pp. 3, 9.

Apart, however, from the fact that all references to Manann do not necessarily apply to the Isle of Man, it seems improbable that the tribute was regularly paid, as the incursions of the Northmen, which began at the end of the eighth century, continued at short intervals, till they definitely established their rule. The first of these incursions is recorded by the *Annals of Ulster* in 798 in the following words: 'The burning of Inis-Patrick by the Gentiles, and cattle plunder of the country was borne off, and the shrine of Dachonna was broken by them, and the spoils of the sea (taken) by them also, between Erinn and Alba.' O'Donovan understood the Inis-Patrick here mentioned to be the island so called on the coast of Dublin, while Todd, in his introduction to the *Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, considered it to refer to Peel Island in the Isle of Man.

The mention of the shrine of Dachonna would tend to show the correctness of the latter opinion, and, even if it were not so, it is not likely that the pirates who took 'spoils of the sea between Erinn and Alba' (Scotland) would have avoided the Isle of Man. Such expeditions were evidently merely for plunder, as there was at that time no attempt to establish any form of government. This latter process probably began about the middle of the ninth century, when a Scandinavian dynasty, whose power extended along the greater portion of the east coast of Ireland, was seated at Dublin. This change of rulers, even if it did not extend to Man, would put an entire stop to any direct intercourse with the Irish Court, and to the payment of the tribute at an earlier date than that mentioned by the *Book of Rights*. It is clear, too, from the frequent mention of the *gall-gaedhel* by the Irish annalists as being the inhabitants of Man and the Isles, that a considerable number of Scandinavian colonists must have at this time effected a permanent settlement in these islands; for the *gall-gaedhel* are described as being a mixed race, partly Gaelic and partly Norse. It was not till 1060

that, according to the *Four Masters*, Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, King of Dublin and Munster, having driven out the Danes in 1052, 'went to Manann, and carried tribute from thence.' This was apparently only a temporary success, as in 1072 the Danes were in possession of Dublin, and in 1079 the Isle of Man was conquered by the Scandinavian Godred Crovan, who afterwards subdued Dublin and a great part of Leinster. Godred's son Lagman succeeded, presumably, to the same dominion, but on his death in 1096, Celtic rule again revived for a brief space; for we find that the 'chiefs of the Isles' (Sodor and Man) recognised the King of Ireland as their overlord by sending messengers to ask him to appoint 'some competent person of the royal race to be their king, till Olave, son of Godred, should have grown up.' [1] Murchadh consequently nominated Donald, a kinsman of his own, who soon began to govern so tyrannically that after three years' reign he was summarily expelled by the Manx. Then, in 1113, after the two expeditions of Magnus, King of Norway, Scandinavian rule was firmly re-established in Man and the Isles under Godred Crovan's son Olave, and Olave's son Godred, powerful rulers, who entered into alliances with the Irish kings on equal terms. Under their successor Reginald, who ascended the throne in 1188, English influence began to make itself felt both in Ireland and in the Isle of Man. In the Isle of Man it increased so much that in 1213 Reginald did homage to John, who in 1214 took him, 'together with his possessions . . . under our protection.' [2]

Thus ended the political connection of Man and Ireland. In other respects, however, the connection between the two countries continued. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, probably on account of the Statute of Kilkenny, a number of Irish, bearing, for the most part, Hiberno-Norman names, such as MacWalter, MacWilliam, and MacGibbon, came to Man, where they flourished and

[1] *Chronicle of Man*, vol. xxii., Manx Society's Publications.
[2] Manx Society's Publications, vol. vii. pp. 36, 37.

increased in numbers. In one way only was their fate possibly a worse one than if they had remained in Ireland, and that was in regard to their names, as the euphonious designations referred to gradually became corrupted into Qualtrough, Quilliam, and Cubbon.

Another bond between Man and Ireland was trade. Till 1765, when Man came under the direct influence of the English commercial system, its trade with Ireland, mainly by way of Dublin and Peel, was greater than with any other country.

Altogether, as you will have seen, the connection between the two countries has been a very intimate one. The chief token of this at the present day is the nomenclature, both of places and of persons, in the smaller island. Between sixty and seventy per cent. of the Manx place-names and personal names are of Goidelic origin, about twenty per cent. being Scandinavian, and the rest English. But the most significant fact, as showing the connection, is that the forms taken by the Goidelic names, especially by the personal names, which are, generally speaking, older than the place-names, are those which are more usual in Ireland than in Scotland, though the language, owing to the more recent connection with Scotland (the Isle of Man having been under Scottish rule during the latter part of the thirteenth century), approaches somewhat more closely to Scottish than Irish.

Though Man now looks eastwards, rather than westwards, it has a remaining bond which still links it closely to Ireland, a bond that never can be broken—the bond of race. This shows itself in the strong sympathy between Irishmen and Manxmen. They assimilate easily, and they 'get on' well together. Let us hope, in conclusion, that the old Manx proverb, '*Mie Nherin, mie Mannin*,' *i.e.* 'What is good for Ireland is good for Man,' may prove to be an apt one politically as well as in other respects.

LANDAVENSIUM ORDO CHARTARUM

ALFRED ANSCOMBE

THE chartulary of the ancient church of Llandaff deserves to be numbered among the most venerable of the many monuments of Latin Christianity which have originated in countries beyond the borders of Italy. The series of charters it preserves begins in the middle of the fifth century, and runs onward for seven hundred years. The study of the earliest documents of the series is complicated and difficult. This is owing partly to their isolated antiquity; but chiefly to the fact that no chronographical data whatever appear in any one of them until we have penetrated to the middle of the tenth century. This curious feature of the Llandaff charters has hitherto met with only slight recognition. It must be obvious, however, that the views of the collective value of the charters of any particular period are, in the circumstances, merely tentative, and that conclusions based upon those views cannot avoid being unreliable. Real progress, in short, cannot be made in research in connection with these documents until they have been arranged in their due and proper order.

The criteria of distribution are numerous and reliable. The lists of witnesses—royal, prelatic, clerical, and lay—are fairly full, and from time to time we get a note of sonship, or even of more remote descent, and of motherhood, also, in reference to princely families. There are four methods of arrangement available: (1) by the bishops; (2) by the kings; (3) by the abbots of the diocese, of whom the three principal ones are named and identified in many charters; and (4) by any two or more of the preceding methods employed concurrently. The first two methods are so obvious that I need not comment upon their use. The third has not been adopted as yet by any investigator.

Its *ratio* is this: In the second half of the fifth century three eminent British ecclesiastics, named Catoc, Ildut, and Dochu, founded abbeys in the bishopric of Llandaff. Their successors in the sixth century are respectively styled: (1) *abbas altaris Sancti Catoci*, or *Carbani Uallis*, or *Nant Carban*; (2) *abbas Sancti Ilduti*, or *Ilduti*, or *Lannildut;* (3) *abbas Docunni*, or *Docguinni*, or *Dochou.* Whether the three abbeys were founded in the order in which I have named them, I cannot say. But this is the order of precedence, and, except in a few instances, it is the order in which the three abbots subscribed the deeds they witnessed to. Now, in the time of Bishop Oudoceus at least twenty grants were made to his church. Fifteen of these preserve the names and abbacies of fifteen successive abbots, and it should follow that the threefold course of concurrent tenancy must have been broken so frequently, that the succession of the abbots ought to be exactly determinable, and the chronological order of the grants themselves be no less clearly revealed. In the following tables we get, first, the order of the names as they are given in the chartulary; second, the true order. The arabic numbers indicate the first; the capital letters the second. *C*, *I*, and *D* indicate the abbeys. The commas show that the preceding name on the same line reappears.

I.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	B	C	A	N	H	D	I	K	G
C.	Iacob	„	„	Sulgen	Concen	„	„	„	„
I.	Catgen	„	Catgen Biuon	Gurhaual	Colbrit	Catgen	Colbrit	„	„
D.	Eutigirn	„	„	Saturn	——	Sulgen	Iudhurb	„	Sulgen

	10	11	12	13	14	15
	E	F	O	M	P	L
C.	Concen	„	Sulgen	„	Dagan	Concen
I.	Congen	„	Gurthauar	Colbrit	Eluoin	Colbrit
D.	Sulgen	„	Saturn	Iudhubr	Saturn	Iudhubr

The method of compilation of the chartulary of Llandaff

for Oudoceus's times, is quite clear: the register or compiler knew that Iacob was abbot of Llangatoc at Oudoceus's consecration, and took three 'Iacob' deeds. He then, quite by chance, and out of order, transcribed a 'Sulgen' deed. He detected his error, and copied all the 'Concen' grants he had, except one, and then completed the 'Sulgen' ones. After that he wrote out the 'Dagan' charter in the last place but one under Oudoceus, and then transcribed the 'Concen' deed he had passed over. The broken succession is clearly indicated by the recurrence of names in the wrong places, and the true chronological order of the three abbots, and of the grants they witnessed in Oudoceus's day is as follows:—

II.

	3	1	2	6	10	11	9	5	7
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
C.	Iacob	,,	,,	Concen	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
I.	Biuon	Catgen	,,	,,	Congen	,,	Colbrit	,,	,,
D.	Eutigirn	,,	,,	Sulgen	,,	,,	,,	*	Iudhurb

	8	15	13	4	12	14
	K	L	M	N	O	P
C.	Concen	,,	Sulgen	,,	,,	Dagan
I.	Colbrit	,,	,,	Gurthauar	,,	Eluoin
D.	Iudhubr	,,	,,	Saturn	,,	,,

* $\frac{5}{H}$ was apparently granted during a vacancy in Dochu's abbey.

In the second instalment of this series I hope to be allowed to apply this criterion to the questions involved in the re-arrangement of the documents relating to Bishop Oudoceus, *ca.* 520. In this paper I shall only deal with the grants made to Dubricius and his suffragans.

	I. (p. 75, fo. 22)	II. (p. 72, fo. 21)	III. (p. 76, fo. 22)	IV. (p. 76, fo. 22)	V. (p. 77, fo. 22)	VI. (p. 121, fo. 36)	VII. (p. 123, fo. 36)	VIII. (p. 122, fo. 36)	IX. (p. 125, fo. 37)	X. (p. 125, fo. 37)	XI. (p. 127, fo. 37)	XII. (p. 167, fo. 49)	
	Cil Hal	Lann Custenhinn	Tir Conloc	Porth Tvlon	Penn Alvn	Lann Garth	Lann Teiliau	Lann Maur	Mainaur Brunus	Tref Carn	Cil Tutuc	Lann Mihacghel	
	Erb *rex* | *guenti et ercic*			Merchguin | *rex filius gliuis*	Noe *filius* | *arthur*	Iudon *rex f. ynyr guent*	Idon *rex*	Idon *rex* | *vide* XIX.	Margetud *f.* | *rein, rex demetice regionis*	Aircol *lauhir f. Tryfun, rex demetice regionis*	Aircol *rex* |	Teudur *f.* | *rein rex Brecheniauc*	
	ii. pepiau	Peipiau *rex* f. *erb*	Pepiau *rex f. erb, et filii eius*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
		ii. custenhin |	*ii.* cinust *et*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
			iii. guidci	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
5		*iii.* guourir |	*iv. heredes* | conloc	*ii.* matauc |		*ii.* morguid	. . .	*ii.* morguid |			*ii.* conurit | *f. concolen*	5
		iv. dihiruc	*v.* congual |	*iii.* garu |		*iii.* merchion	. . .	*iii.* merchion |			*iii.* petran |	
	iii. gurtauan |												
	iv. mabon |												
	v. condiuill	*v.* condiuill											
10		*vi.* guidgol		*iv.* lugobi |		*iv.* freudubr |					*iv.* eluiu |	10
				v. luuaet |		*v.* erbic |					*v.* bacuc |	
		vii. clem |				*vi.* guinabui	. . .	*iv.* guinabui |				
											i. tutuc |		
											iii. liuathru |		
15	*Erb accepit unam telluvem de propria sua hereditate nomine Cil Hal.*	*Constantinus rex socer Peipiau regis. Iunapeius consobrinus Peipiau regis.*		*regnante Merchguino filio Gliuis immolauit Gurdoc filiam suam Dulon uirginem archiepiscopo Dubricio.*	*Teliauus alumnus sancti Dubricii et discipulus conuersatus est Lann maur super ripam Tyvi.*		*monsinmedio Crissinic prope Trodi.*		*Margetud filius Rein rex Demetice regionis occidit Gufrir hominem Sci. Teliaui. Mainaur Brunus et Telichcloumman Tref Canus.*	*Tref Carn Laith Ti Teiliau, Menechi.* (All these are place-names.)	*iv.* letclit | *v.* ina | *vi.* rec | *vii.* douid |	*Teudur filius Rein rex Brechenniauc Elgistil filium Augusti regem Brechenniauc occidit. Lann Mihacghel Tref Ceriav in Brechenniauc.*	15

II. Clerical Witnesses.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
Dubritio	Dubricio	Dubricio	Dubricio	Dubricio	Teliauo	Teliauo	Teliaus	Teliauus	Teliauo	Teliauo	
	ii. arguistil	*ii.* arguistil	. . .	*ii.* arguistil	*ii.* arguistil	*ii.* arguistil	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	iii. vbeluiu	*iii.* uuelbiu	*ii.* vbeluiuo	*iii.* ubelbiu	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	iv. iouann	*iv.* iouan	. . .	*iv.* iouann	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	v. iunapius	*v.* iunapius	. . .	*v.* iunabui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	vi. conuran	*vi.* conuran	. . .	*vi.* conbran	*v.* conbran	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	vii. goruan	*vii.* guruan	. . .	*vii.* guoruan	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Guruanno |
ii. elhearn	. . .	. . .	. . .	*viii.* elhearn	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
iii. iudner	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ix.* iudnou	*vi.* iudon	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
iv. guordocui	. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* gurdocui	*vii.* guordocui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
v. guernabui	. . .	. . .	. . .	*xi.* guernabui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
			iii. merchguin |							
			iv. cuelin	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
					iii. elguoret	*iii.* elguoret	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
					iv. conguarui	*iv.* conguarui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
					viii. gurmoi |						
					ix. gurhal |						
									i. iouil, *discipulus Teliaui*	*ii.* iouguil, | *disc. T.*	*ii.* eliud |
										i. typhei, | *nepos T.*	*iii.* cuan |
									ii. fidelis, *discipulus T.*	*iii.* fidelis, | *disc. T.*	*i.* concu |

N.B.—The upright bar indicates that the witness does not re-appear; the dotted line is carried along till he does; the absence of both bar and line indicates possible connection.

XIII. (p. 72, fo. 21)	XIV. (p. 73, fo. 21)	XV. (p. 160, fo. 47)	XVI. (p. 161, fo. 47)	XVII. (p. 162, fo. 48)	XVIII. (p. 73, fo. 21)	XIX. (p. 166, fo. 49)	XX. (p. 163, fo. 48)	XXI. (p. 162, fo. 48)	XXII. (p. 163, fo. 48)	XXIII. (p. 164, fo. 48)	XXIV. (p. 165, fo. 49)
Lann Cerniu	Lann Iunabui	Lann Sulbiv	Bolgros	Lann Guorboe	Cvm Barrvc	Lann Coit	Cvm Barrvc	Mafvrn	Lann Louden *in ercỳcg*	Lann Budguallan	Lann Cinmarch
		Mouric *rex* |	Guruodius *rex ercỳcg*	Gvoruodu | *rex ercỳcg regionis*		Idon *rex* |			Gurcant *rex ercỳcg, f. cinuin et filii eius*	Gurcant *rex* | *f. cinuin*	Athruis *rex* | *guenti regionis*
Peipiau *rex*	Peipiau *rex* |		*ii.* eruic *f. eius*	*ii.* eruic *f.* | *eius*					*ii.* morcant | *et*		*ii.* gruediau |
. . .	*ii.* cinuin	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Cinuin *f. pepiav*	. . .	*i.* Cinvin *rex et*	*i.* Cinuin *rex* | *f. pepiau*	*iii.* caratauc |		*iii.* gurguol |
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*i.* guoidci *f. pepiav*	. . .	*ii.* guidci *fr. eius*	*ii.* guidci *fr.* | *eius*			*iv.* catrgueidan
ii. collbiu	*iii.* colt	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* collbiu	. . .	. . .	*iii.* coluiu |			*v.* iudgual-| laun
iii. centiuit	*vii.* cintimit	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* cintiuit	*v.* cintunt |			*vi.* morgon |
	iv. arcon	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* arcon	. . .	*iii.* aircol	*iv.* aircot |			
	v. guobrir	. . .	*iii.* guorbur *f. eifest*	*iii.* guebrgur *f. eifest*						*ii.* uebrersel *f. eifest*	
						iii. iouan |			*v.* guruthon *f. mabon*	*iii.* guordoi *f. mabon*	
	vi. guodcon								*vii.* guidcon *f. gurhauar*	*v.* gurcon *f. gurgauarn*	
	viii. cingint |		*iv.* elionor | *f. gurbud*	*iv.* morheb | *f. moriud*		*ii.* gurhai |		*iv.* gubruc |		
			v. leuhaiarn | *f. loumic*	*vi.* cuelin | *f. iacob*		*iv.* biuoc |				
		ii. cinuin |	gurdauau *f. leliau*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* gurtauan *f. leliau*	*iv.* gurtauaui | *f. leliau*	
		iii. elcon |	*vi.* circan *f. samauelis*	*v.* crican *f.* | *samuel*		*v.* biuan |			*viii.* conuc	*vi.* conoc *f.* | *condiuil*	
			vii. conhoe | *f. louri*	*vii.* elisail *f.* | *gurdaual*		*vi.* gurgal |					
			viii. congual | *f. catguc*	*viii.* iunet *f.* | *iumail*		*vii.* guinan |					

Lann Cinmarch id est Mainaur Tnoumur ubi sepulchrum Sancti Cinuarch, discipuli Sancti Dubricii, et Lann Deui et Lann Iunabui et Lann Guoruoe in campo Malochu et podum Mafurn et Lann Caleuch et Lann Cerniv.

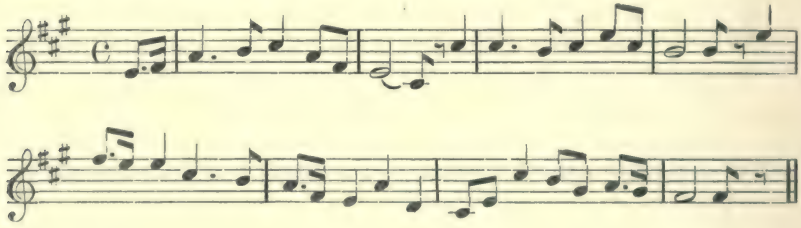
XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.	XX.	XXI.	XXII.	XXIII.	XXIV.
ELGISTIL	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ELGISTI|	AIDAN|			COMEREGIUS|
. . .	ARGUISTIL	. . .	. . .	. . .	ARGUISTIL	ARGUISTLO|					
. . .	. . .	VUELUIU	VUELUIUI	VUELBIU|							
. . .	. . .	*iii.* iohannes| *cum clericis suis*	*iii.* deui *f. circan sacerdotis*	*ii.* deui *summus sacerdos, f. circan*							
ii. iunabui	*ii.* iunabui *presbtr.*	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* iunabui	. . .	*ii.* iunabui	. . .	IUNAPEIUS	IUNAPEIUS|	
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* conuran					
. . .	*iii.* elharnn	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* elhaiarun	. . .	*iv.* elhearn	. . .	*iv.* helhearn *abbas lanngworboe*	. . .	*iii.* elhearn| *abbas lanngurvoe*
. . .	*ii.* iudnou	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* iudnou *abbas bolcros*	*iii.* iudnou *abbas bolgros*	*ii.* iudon| *abbas bolgros*
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* guordoce *abbas lanndeui*	*iv.* guordocui *abbas lanndeui*	*iv.* gurdocoe| *abbas lanndeui*
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* guenopoui	*vii.* guenuor *abbas lann garth benni*	*vii.* guernabui *princeps garthbenni*	*v.* guernapui| *guritpenni*
iv. merchuit|			*ii.* meilic *lector, f. merchuiu*	*iii.* meilic| *lector f. merchuiu*				*iv.* gurguarui	*viii. et* gurguare *alumnus eius*	*viii. et* gurguare *alumnus eius*	*vi.* guruarui| *lann enniaun*
. . .	. . .	*ii.* cu ..*abbas*|		*iv.* guruol| *sacerdos, f. merchion*							
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* elguaret|					
iii. cenguarui	*iii.* cinguarui	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* cinguarui	. . .	*iii.* cinguarui|				
	*iv.*cimmeired	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* cimmareia|			*v.* guern			
			iv. uuelauc| *f. guordbrit equonimi*	*et ibi Guoruoe sacerdotem suum Guorvodu rex posuit*		*ii.* conan|		*ii.* comereg *abbas mochros*	*ii.* comereg *abbas mochros*	
						iv. adguen|		*iii.* lilli|		
								vi. eloc|	*iii.* bithen *princeps lanndougarth*	*vi.* bithen *princeps lanndougarth*	*vii.* bithen| *lann ceuid*
								vii. iudnerth|		*v.* anauoc *magister*	

O! 'S TU 'S GURA TU TH' AIR M' AIRE

Miss F. M. Morrison

[A newspaper correspondence, in which several songs and airs associated with the same chorus have been brought to light, followed the publication (*Celtic Review*, vol. ii. p. 122) by Mr. Malcolm Macfarlane of

'O 's tu 's gura tu th' air m' aire.'

The chorus, with some little adaptation, appears to have been a popular model for songs in praise of one's native place. One such that has been published is in praise of Applecross, and another that we have heard sung takes Sunart for its theme. Prominence having been given in the correspondence to the name of Dr. Morrison, Larkhall, his sister, Miss Morrison, at his request has sent the following version—music and words—for publication, with the remark that of several airs to which the song is sung this is thought to be by far the prettiest. . . . The Rev. M. N. Munro informs us that there is another version of the air in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, and that it appears in the Introduction to *Songs of the Hebrides*. He also sends an additional verse heard in Uig in Lewis, and we give it in brackets.]

Seisd.

O! 's tu 's gura tu th' air m' aire;
O! 's tu 's gura tu th' air m' aire;
'S tu fein, a ruin, tha tigh'nn dluth fa-near dhomh,
'S gu 'n d' fhalbh mo shùgradh bho'n dh' fhàg thu m' baile.

Dh' fhalbh mo shùgradh is dh' fhalbh mo mhànran,
Mo thoil-inntinn is mo cheòl-gàire;
Is mura till thu fo cheann an ràithe
Gur ann san uaigh nithear suas mo chàradh.

'S iomadh pian th' ann an gaol na h-òige;
'S ann leam bu mhiann a bhi gad' phògadh,

'S mo làmhan sìnte ri d' mhuineal bòidheach,
Is mi gad' dhìon mar an t-ian 's an tòir air.

Gaol na h-òige tha bron is pian ann ;
Tha mi leòinte leis bho cheann bliadhna ;
Is cadal còmhnard no stòlt cha dian mi,
Is m' aire 'n comhnuidh air bòidhchead t' ìomhaigh.

Tha mi tinn 's mi ri caoidh mo dhòchais
An nochd 's an raoir 's fad na h-oidhch' bhò 'n raoir
Do chomhradh meallt' anns a' gheamhradh dhomhsa
Chuir falt mo chinn leis a' ghaoith 'na dhlòthan.

[Thug thu 'ghealach bhuam, thug thu 'ghrian bhuam,
Thug thu 'chiall bhuam, gur i bu mhò leam ;
Thug thu 'n cridhe bha 'n taobh stigh de m' cliabh bhuam,
'S car son a riamh nach do rinn sinn pòsadh ?]

BAS BHRAIN AGUS DHIARMAID

Donald MacDonald

Mr. MacDonald's version of the Diarmaid story is of peculiar interest because of its reference to the death of Bran, and its traditional connection with a place-name which Mr. Watson in his 'Place-names of Ross and Cromarty' suggested to have a mythological reference. It also throws light on the origin of the place-names 'Carn na Beiste' and 'Loch na beiste.' There is no account of Bran's death either in Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, or in *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*. The various versions, which, of course, are fragmentary, make reference, however, to a hunt being in progress when Diarmaid was sent against the boar. The Sutherland version of the boar of Ben Loyal cave indicates that Fionn, Ossian, and Oscar tried in vain to kill it before Diarmaid went against it. An Irish version of Bran's death is that he was killed by Fionn when in hot pursuit of a fawn, supposed to be Ossian's mother. She cried out to Fionn, and ran under him, and Fionn in trying to stop Bran rapped his knees together and crushed the faithful hound.

Mr. MacDonald's reference to Diarmaid's 'ball seirc' is also interesting. In the *West Highland Tales* the spot is 'on his face,' but the location is indicated by the reference that he covered it with his helmet. The Rossshire version is more specific with the exact location 'on the flat of his forehead.' One version (*West Highland Tales*, vol. iii. p. 56) calls the spot 'sugh seirc,' (love juice), and refers to it vaguely as 'a kind of spot in the face of the man.' The origin of the 'ball seirc' is explained in Dr. Hyde's

Sgealuidhe Gaedhealach, where a young woman, symbolic of youth, thus honoured Diarmaid among the Feinne.

As in other versions Diarmaid is a handsome man. He is also credited with having 'the best head in the Feinne altogether' (*West Highland Tales*, vol. iii. p. 54).

There is no reference in Mr. MacDonald's fragment to an elopement. Fionn's jealousy appears to be anticipatory. In the Sutherland version it is 'the king' and not Fionn who is jealous, apparently not considering Diarmaid worthy of his daughter.

The manner of Diarmaid's death differs from the Irish version, in which he is disembowelled by the boar before it dies. The Achilles-like spot is referred to in Mr. MacDonald's version as pointedly as in the South Uist version (*West Highland Tales*, vol. iii. p. 54) in which it is called 'Ball Dorain' (a mole—an otter mark), which was 'in his right heel,' and 'he could not be killed unless a spike should go into his heel in the mole.' Other West Highland versions mention the sole as the vulnerable part. In *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, vol. iv. chapter iv., it is stated that 'death could only be by the sole' (bàs am bonn dubh a choise). Another version indicates the forepart of the heel (bonn dubh na coise). Reference is also made to the statement that the bristle entered beneath his great toe (fo ordag a choise).

A perusal of Mr. MacDonald's interesting fragment increases our long-felt regret that no systematic collection has ever been made in Ross and Cromarty of the tales of the Feinne. They were current among the people until a comparatively recent date, but now have degenerated into the fairy-and-giant-legend form. Mr. Watson's 'Place-Names' affords ample evidence of the tendency to localise the tales in his native county. The story of the burning of the women at Brugh Farala in Skye is also told in connection with Knock farrel, Strathpeffer, and references to the tale are still current in the district. Hugh Miller gives half-humorously a version of the Garry story in *Scenes and Legends*, and it is to be regretted that that pioneer collector of folk-lore was unacquainted with Gaelic, and therefore impervious to the spell of the great cycle. In Miller's version Dunskaith is on Nigg hill (Cromarty North Souter). The 'Smith's Rock' of Ross-shire is Craigie howe, Black Isle. The cave where Fionn and his men lie asleep on their elbows is still pointed out, and natives in the district continue to repeat fragments of the tales of the Feinne. Versions of the legend in English were current among schoolboys as late as a quarter of a century ago.

D. A. Mackenzie.

Bha an Fheinn latha a' sealg an Carn-na-Beiste, cnoc cruinn ard ann am monadh Ach-an-allt mu choinneamh an Uillt-Dheirg, far an robh biast fhiadhaich ris an d'thuirteadh an torc nimhe a' comhnaidh, agus o'n d'fhuair an carn an

t-ainm, 's mar an ceudna loch beag faisg air a' charn ris an canar Loch-na-Beiste.

Chunnaig an Fheinn a' bheiste sa' charn, 's chuir Fionn a chu Bran an aghaidh na beiste, ach nuair thainig e faisg air an torc 's a chunnaig e fhiamh oillteil fiadhanta dhiult e aghaidh thoirt air, agus thill e air ais 's 'fheaman 'n a ghobhal.

Chuir Fionn air ais an darna uair e, ach nuair rainig e mu choinneamh na beiste cha rachadh e 'n a còmhdhail idir. Thill e le geilt agus nàire a' sgugadh troimh 'n fhraoch gu cul-coise a mhaighstir g'a dhion fhein. Ach las corruich Fhinn, 's thionndainn e air a' chu, 's thug e breab dha le 'chois air son a gheilteachd

Thar an cu as le naire's tamailt sios le bruthach, gus an d' rainig e lon an t-sratha air bruach na h-aibhne far an do chladhaich e toll dha fhein san deachuidh e gu grad as an t-sealladh, leis an tamailt gu'n deachaidh a bhualadh.

Lean an Fheinn air toir a' choin, 's nuair rainig iad an toll bha an cu a fradharc.

Dh' fheuch iad a thaladh a mach, ach cha fhreagradh e; 's nuair thug iad thairis a' feitheamh, thoisich iad air cladhach air a shon. Ach mar bu doimhne chladhaicheadh iadsan is ann bu doimhne tholladh esan, gus fo dheireadh, dh' eirich an t-uisge orra 's b'eigin dhaibh stad. Lion an toll le uisge, 's tha loch beag ann gus an latha an diugh ris an abairear Loch Brain, 's fhuair an srath uile an t-ainm Srath Bhrain o'n am sin. Phill an Fheinn an sin air an ais gus a' charn air toir an tuirc a ris, 's thug iad fhein aghaidh air le'n cuid airm, 's mharbhadh e le Diarmad.

Bha Diarmad na dhuine ro mhaiseach, 's ball seirc air clar aodainn a bheireadh air na h-uile boireannach a chitheadh am ball seirc tuiteam ann an trom ghaol air. Bha Fionn ag eudach air air sgath a mhnatha fhein, 's a'sireadh doigh eigin air cur as da gun a laimh fhein a bhith ann.

Bha ball-dobhrain air sail chli Dhiarmaid a bha ro leontach, 's b' fhiosrach Fionn air so. Air an aobhar sin,

dh'aithn e dha a dhol a thomhas an tuirc gu mion air a dhruim an aghaidh nam frioghan: ghon am frioghan nimheil am ball-dobhrain, 's thug an nimh bas Dhiarmaid.

THE DEATH OF BRAN AND DIARMAD

The Fians were one day hunting in Carn na Beiste (the Cairn of the Beast), a round, high hill in the Auch-an-Allt moor, opposite Allt-Dearg, where a wild beast called the poisonous boar dwelt, and whence the cairn got its name, and also a little loch, near the cairn, called Loch na Beiste (the Loch of the Beast).

The Fians saw the beast in the cairn, and Finn sent his dog Bran against the beast, but when he came near the boar and saw his horrible, wild appearance, he refused to attack him, and fled back with his tail between his legs.

Finn sent him back a second time, but when he came opposite the beast he would on no account attack him. He returned with fear and shame, skulking through the heather, and went behind his master for protection.

But his cowardice aroused the wrath of Finn, and turning round he kicked him.

Shamed and insulted the dog ran down the brae till he reached the level ground of the strath near the river bank, where he dug a hole for himself, and quickly disappeared out of sight with shame at the insult of being struck.

The Fians followed in pursuit of the dog, but when they reached the hole he was out of sight. They tried to coax him out, but he would not answer, and when they lost patience waiting they began digging for him, but the deeper they dug the deeper he holed, till finally the water rose upon them, and they were compelled to desist. The hole filled with water, and there is a little loch there till this day called Loch Bran, and the whole of the Strath received the name of Strath Bran (in Gaelic Strath of Bran) from that time.

The Fians then returned back to the cairn on the track of the boar, and they themselves attacked him with their weapons and he was slain by Diarmad.

Diarmad was a very handsome man, with a beauty spot in the centre of his forehead, which caused every female who saw the beauty spot to fall deeply in love with him. Finn was jealous of him on account of his own wife, and was seeking some way or other to destroy him without his own hand appearing in the deed.

There was a mole on Diarmad's left heel that was very vulnerable, and Finn was aware of this.

Therefore he commanded him to go and measure the boar closely along the back against the bristles. The poisonous bristle pierced the mole and the poison caused the death of Diarmad.[1]

JOHN MORRISON OF HARRIS

Rev. M. N. Munro

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the biographical details of the life of 'Gobha na h-Earradh.' These may be found in the introduction to Dr. Henderson's edition of his poetical works. John Morrison died in 1852, and now most or all of his contemporaries have passed away. Dr. Henderson has done his gleaning of facts connected with the poet so thoroughly and well that there can be little left for others to discover. But the memory of this saintly man is worth cherishing. He was undoubtedly the greatest religious poet

[1] In Mr. Thomas Ford Hill's collection of Ossianic Ballads (the first Ossianic collection ever published) contributed by him to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1782-3, and obtained from Alexander MacNab, Blacksmith, Dalmally, there is a poem *Mar Mharbhadh Bran* ('How Bran was killed'). Bran was Finn's favourite dog and because he killed Gaul's dog, Finn killed him and then lamented for him. This collection also contains the poem *Mar Mharbh Diarmad an Torc Nimhe* (How Diarmad killed the poisonous boar). Hill published his collection in pamphlet form in 1784, but it became so scarce that in 1872 Mr. Campbell of Islay could not procure a copy. It was published in the *Gael* of 1877, and in 1878 reprinted in pamphlet form and issued by Messrs. MacLachlan and Stewart. The MacNicol MSS. contain an exact copy of *Mar Mharbhadh Bran* obtained from the same source as Hill's version. In Dr. Cameron's *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. i. pp. 280 and 340, there are two similar versions from the MacFarlane and MacLagan collections.

that the Hebrides has produced. My aim in this paper is to approach the poet's works from the literary and critical point of view in the endeavour to realise the individuality of the man and also the atmosphere of his surroundings in those strenuous, toil-filled years that he spent in Harris, as blacksmith, preacher, and poet, with but little reference to the ecclesiastical history and the polemics of his time. He was a man of great natural force of character and a religious poet of the first rank. He was a born leader of men, and wherever his lot was cast he could not fail to be a powerful influence either for good or for evil.

One of his contemporaries said of Ian Gobha nan Dan in an elegy :—

> Nam biodh do bhuadhan 's do ghéir
> Aig neach gun ghliocas d'an réir
> Bhiodh tu croiseil do'n chléir 's do'n Stàid.

Had Morrison been born in Ireland some centuries back he would have been a prominent figure at a time when bards held equal power and position with the dignitaries of the Church. He might even have been a second Murrough O'Daly, O'Donnell's bard, who was the active cause of no less than three wars in Ireland, and who latterly found a safe asylum in the kingdom of the Isles. As it was, Ian Gobha had more influence with the people of Harris in the thirties and forties than all the ecclesiastics of the island put together. A story is told of him still that reveals what manner of man he was. In the early decades of last century a minister was about to be settled in Harris by the patron of the district. Morrison strongly disapproved of the selection, being convinced from his knowledge of the man that he had not the necessary qualifications for his sacred office. However, the ordination went on. The bard sat in the church making no protest. The presiding clergyman took the fact of his presence as a good omen and, hoping to conciliate the bard, asked him to engage in prayer at the close of the service. Morrison did so, but in the course of his prayer took occasion

to intercede for the newly settled pastor, desiring earnestly that he might receive certain qualifications for his office which he as yet lacked. The prayer was expressed in such powerful and impressive Gaelic that the young minister took alarm and immediately resigned his pastorate, fearing, with good reason, that it would be too thorny a business for him to work alongside of Ian Gobha. So the Harris folk still say that one prayer from their bard was so effectual that it drove the unwelcome presentee out of the island.

The evangelical movement in the Church of Scotland leavened all Harris as early as 1828. Morrison identified himself with it, and while pursuing his trade, which he learned in Edinburgh about the time of Duncan Ban's death, he became also a famous preacher. He could hold great audiences in thrall by the spell of his eloquent speech, and could awaken responsive emotion as the wind sways the fields of corn. Dr. M'Donald of Ferintosh was the chief formative influence in his spiritual life. During the great controversy that culminated in the Disruption, the poet espoused the cause of the Free Church. Some of his poems are polemical and contain some hard hitting. But then hard hitting was the rule on both sides in those days. One of his poems states the case for both parties in dialogue form with great ability, though at this distance of time, and with changed conditions, the terms may seem severe. Morrison had two sides to his nature. At one time he was 'the bonnie fechter,' with the battle-fever of his Norse ancestry in his veins, and then again when controversy was forgotten no man could be more tender and gentle than he. There was no leaven of vindictiveness or spite in his character. Like Dr. Samuel Johnson, that robust Hebridean pilgrim, our bard was a strong, burly fellow who could fight well on occasion for a cause, careless of the odds against him, fearless in his convictions yet behind it all was a massive, humorous, kindly nature, most lovable to those who knew him well, always single-hearted and sincere. In a recent article on Johnson, Dr. Robertson Nicoll points out certain

traits in the character of that remarkable man that curiously remind us of Ian Gobha. Johnson possessed 'great powers of mind, combined with wit and humour,' was 'of a combative disposition,' and withal was 'a great Christian man and something of a seer and a mystic.' In his degree Morrison possessed the above combination of remarkable qualities. Johnson made little money by his literary work, our bard made nothing at all. Johnson had a 'great and sacred affection for his dearly loved wife.' In the whole range of Gaelic poetry there is not to be found a more touching expression of sorrow than in Morrison's 'Marbhrann d' a chéile,' an elegy to his wife, full of Christian resignation, and such poignant sorrow that even now it can hardly be read without tears. Her name was Marion M'Lean, and she died in 1829.

The total literary output of the poet is astonishingly large. None of our Gaelic religious poets have written so much verse of such uniformly high quality, alike in vigour of thought and in beauty of literary form. He possessed a vigorous intellect, and his poems are extremely terse and condensed in expression yet without vagueness. Though intellectual in their cast his verses are full of musical qualities. His sensitive ear could not tolerate harshness. In his early years he was a skilled player on the violin, and he was well acquainted with the secular poetry and music of the Highlands. Many of his poems were written for old folk-tunes, and at least one of his descriptive pieces is modelled on a favourite metre of Duncan Ban. Martin said of the Hebrideans in 1690 that 'they have a great genius for Music and Mechanics.' This is remarkably true of John Morrison. He was an excellent mechanic as well as a master of harmonious verse. In his later years constant intercourse with his minister, the Rev. Dr. Macintosh M'Kay, a noted Gaelic scholar in his day, would be mutually helpful. Dr. M'Kay was a man of great ability and culture. He was compiler to a large extent of the Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary, he edited Rob Donn's poems, and was Moderator of the Free

Church Assembly. He was an uncle of George M'Donald the novelist, a fact not generally known.

An old lady who knew Dr. M'Kay well relates that on one occasion while staying at the manse of Tarbert she saw a portrait of George M'Donald in one of the rooms. 'This is a nephew of mine,' said the Doctor. 'He was to have been a minister, but I am *sorry to say* he has taken to writing novels.' When Morrison died Dr. M'Kay wrote a sympathetic obituary notice of him for Hugh Miller's *Witness*. Dr. M'Kay used to say that in Harris he had met the most courteous and the most pious man he had ever fallen in with. The former was Dr. M'Gillivray of Barra, brother of the naturalist, the latter was John Morrison. The poet had an excellent command of English, and when on a visit to Edinburgh, in 1851, actually preached in Dr. Candlish's church in Edinburgh at the request of that eminent divine, to the satisfaction of a very large audience.

To those who do not know the Hebrides it is necessary to say something regarding the *formative influences* of Morrison's early environment. The people of Harris and Lewis, for whom in the first instance Morrison wrote his poems with little thought of a wider public, were in those days a simple, primitive, and kindly folk, affectionate in disposition and of a deeply serious and religious cast of mind. In the previous century it was not so ; scenes of violence and excess were not uncommon. Still further back we find the usual story of clan fights and bloody battles, nameless conflicts of hardly more permanent interest than the battles of the kites and crows. But, on the whole, in Morrison's time the people lived together in amity and kindly fellowship and always deeply interested in religion.

In some ways they remind one of the Welsh peasantry, or of the Breton people of whom Anatole le Braz writes: 'For this austere race religion is the supreme concern.' They might also be compared to the devout folk of West Ireland, among whom Dr. Hyde got so many fine religious songs composed by themselves in Gaelic. In spite of the

difference in creed there are broad and deep resemblances in the religious spirit of the Celtic peoples that racial affinity helps to explain. It has been well remarked that among all the Celtic races there is found the 'union of deep and easily excited emotion, passionate religious conviction, and vivid popular imagination.' ' An austere race ' they might seem to some to be in those days in Harris, but those who knew them intimately and sympathetically would think more of the kindliness than the austerity. It was an interesting stage in the evolution of the Celtic mind, a condition which had many excellencies, but also some accompanying and necessary but almost noble limitations.

Among the men of the clan to which Morrison belonged there were some whose lives were so beautiful, and whose thoughts were so sincere, that they might, without exaggeration, be said to belong to the apostolic type. They were saintly and lovable and gentle Christians, and Morrison himself had all these fine qualities with an added massiveness of intellect and a poetic and imaginative power that made him pre-eminent among them all.

They were sociable souls in their plain homespun, and masters of a charming art of religious conversation that was quite spontaneous and free from cant. With a light, sure touch they could speak to one another of the most intimate things, and they also knew well how to turn from grave to gay, and relieve the tension with a flash of humour. Practical Christians too they were with all their love of experimental and mystical theology. The writer remembers one such dimly, one of God's gentlemen, Calum Caimbeul of Bragar, saintliest of men ; still remembered for a brave deed of self-sacrifice.

Virulent fever broke out in the little village one day, bringing death to almost every house where it entered. The people were paralysed with terror, none could be found to minister in the stricken homes to the sick and the dying. In some houses all the inmates were ill. The frail old elder rose up and girded himself, and with perfect fearlessness

went round from house to house, distributing daily to the sick all the milk his cows yielded, with a kind word and a prayer for each, until the plague was stayed. Though he nursed some and helped to bury others, neither himself nor any of his family took the fever. His memory lives in the hearts of the people to this day. Such men as these were Morrison's friends and companions, and the most appreciative audience for his poems. They lived remote from the distributing centres of literature, and almost their only book was the Gaelic Bible. Students of literature and style learn much from the classics of Greece and Rome: these men, and Morrison especially, went to the classics of Judea. Their minds were thus woven through and through with the lore of the noblest book in the world. It was the school that gave Ruskin his moral earnestness and the style that gave him the premier position of his time as a master of English prose. So it is not a matter for wonder that these men who made the noble Gaelic version of the Scriptures their daily and nightly companion should become themselves ennobled.

But it may be asked were there in this Arcadian isle none of the other class, the rigid dogmatist, the man who has no flexibility of mind, who is too harsh and morose to be lovable ? Some such there may have been, but it may be said with emphasis that this was not the class that Morrison belonged to. Indeed, in the Harris of those days, and now, men of this type were few in number. There are critics of Highland religion who fasten on to this type, their pet aversion, and make sport of their limitations and imperfections, but these critics forget that there were others of a more generous kindly nature, of whom Morrison is the finest example we have.

If poetry means noble thought expressed in noble language the works of Ian Gobha satisfy the definition. It may be objected that since his thought is just the thought of a certain Christian school, poetically treated, the range of its appeal is limited. It seems to be true that the writer of

religious poetry works under some disability from the very nature of his theme. The creative imagination cannot have free play in handling profound religious subjects. Professor Goldwin Smith says : ' The relations of man with the Deity transcend and repel poetic treatment.' That may be the reason why hymns have rarely any very high value when judged by the canons of pure poetry.

Morrison's religious poems will, for some, inspire respect and interest rather than enthusiasm. With such feelings men may rise from the study of the work of Montgomery, Cowper, or perhaps even of Milton. None the less these names are approved by universal judgment as great poets. The general opinion of all qualified to speak is that Morrison is one of the very greatest of our Gaelic religious poets. It must be confessed that many of his poems are too full of compressed reflection to be read continuously with pleasure. Still, if we come to him with receptive minds, prepared to acquiesce with his religious forms of expression, we shall gradually begin to feel we are in the presence of a master mind. There is something about his verse that reminds one of classical music of the severer order which has to be heard several times before its chaste beauty becomes evident. If creative imagination is out of place in such themes as he treats of, yet he has that imagination which makes the invisible real to us, and which so justifies itself. The great recurring ideas in his religious poems are the divine Love, and the Christian experiences of the soul. His thoughts habitually move in the region of the supernatural, in a rarer air than that breathed by ordinary mortals. For those who can taste it there is a perennial charm in his poetry, and as we read the impression grows that the man himself was greater than his works. When he writes we are never made to feel that his poetry, his literary skill, are ends in themselves. He was a literary athlete if ever there was one in the North, and yet he is not deeply impressed with the importance of his art nor obtrudes his own personality. As in the case of Cowper, his poems are to himself but a means of making religion

attractive. Though indifferent to fame, there is no doubt the practice of his art when his day's work at the anvil was done, must have been a source of delight and satisfaction to him. Did his thoughts come to him as he swung the hammer, or was it in the hours of evening that the glow of his inspiration and flow of ideas came that carried him on over pages of manuscript without a break ? He never gives us a glimpse into the mechanism of his art, but we can imagine him going out under the stars when he finished that noble poem 'An Airc,' saying with Prospero, 'A turn or two I 'll walk to still my beating mind.'

Independent of his humble surroundings, the bard would in these creative moments find a full enjoyment. 'To look through the gates of the New Jerusalem makes cheap the splendours of London and Paris.' That he has written little nature poetry is matter for regret. We know his sensitiveness to natural beauty and the charm of the sea, from the piece 'An Cuairt Chuan.' This is a perfect gem of descriptive poetry. Had he cared he could have written of the sea in a manner that would equal or excel the art of Alex. M'Donald. The song, 'Tha duin' òg is sean duin' agam,' is the most widely known of his religious pieces. Dr. Henderson says it is still sung by the Harris girls as a waulking song ! It may have been suggested by Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets*, a book much in vogue at the time. But the Gaelic poem is far finer than any of Erskine's verses. It shows a genius for the interpretation of religious psychology and is full of convincing and passionate earnestness. The metre is very nearly that of Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall.' It is interesting to compare the literary art of Morrison with that of Buchanan of Rannoch, the only religious poet of the Highlands worthy to be ranked alongside of Morrison. Morrison makes a more sparing use of images than Buchanan, and, with superior metaphysical gifts, tends to be abstract in the form of his thoughts. Buchanan is more pictorial in style and is fascinated by the sterner aspects of Christianity. He has affinities with Dante, revels in terrific images and has

a gloomy splendour of imagination, while Morrison is of a sunnier Johannine temperament and more frequently sings of the inner experience of the soul, with frequent Biblical references. Buchanan is an Old Testament prophet of the wrath of God, especially in his tremendous poem on the Judgment Day. The Rannoch poet excels in terse, epigrammatic expression; he has some gems of thought packed into two or four lines, clear as a diamond and telling instantly on the mind, and strokes of genius here and there that Morrison never equalled. But on the whole Morrison produced a far greater bulk of fine poems, though he suffers from a tendency to sermonise at times and many of the poems are far too long. In his great elegy on Dr. M'Donald of Ferintosh, the 'Apostle of the North,' he versifies the whole round of Christian theology. Had he but set himself to write short hymns his hold on posterity would have been more secure than it is to-day. He does not trouble to prune and concentrate, but for all that many of his poems breathe a heavenly music and are ablaze with beauty.

He is a consummate master of the difficult art of Vowel Assonance. Before the days of the Norse invasion this form of poetry had a high development in Ireland, and it still is one of the most distinctive and beautiful features of modern Gaelic poetry. It is scarcely possible to imitate it in a consonantal language like English except in a halting and mechanical way.

In these poems one or two vowel or diphthong sounds will run through a whole stanza on the accented syllables with charming musical effect of contrasts and concords. Then in the next stanza another vowel sound enters and passes through the lines to the end of the stanza, binding all together with a wonderfully expressive and haunting yet elusive harmony. Consonantal rhyme is not so strictly observed as in English owing to the soft and liquid nature of Gaelic consonants. Yet all this intricate word-building is done with such art and apparent ease that the reader's mind is both satisfied with the music

and moved by the thoughts and ideas. The complicated vowel system of the verses never shackles the march of our author's thought or leads to vagueness as it might easily do in less skilful hands. It is only when the verses are closely examined that the wonderful skill of the craftsman appears. The reader is filled with a new respect, not only for the poet, but for the noble instrument he uses with such mastery—the Gaelic language. A great variety of metres are used in his works. The Iambic and Anapaest measures are those chiefly used with an occasional poem in Trochaic feet. Much variety of individual feet occur in the same poem, but the stanzas are always uniform, and the number of accents in each line quite regular. Unlike English poetry, the majority of his metres end the line in a short syllable. Owing to the Gaelic rule of accent on the first syllable of a word, monosyllables must be chosen when the line is to end on a long accent. This hampers the composer to some extent. Some of his Trochaic measures remind one of old Irish eighth century forms. The beautiful elegy to his wife, 'Marbhrann d'a chéile,' is almost in the ancient 'Deibhidh' metre as regards both alliteration and assonance, only the first line of the stanza has one short syllable extra at the end. Only two poems in Morrison's works—the first two in vol. I.—have the strong ending all through the verses. Sometimes one feels the snap at the end of the line, the supernumerary short syllable, to be jarring to the ear in long continued passages of solemn, contemplative poetry, and almost flippant in effect. Buchanan chose the stately long metre of the Psalms for some of his majestic poetry. His poem on the Judgment Day can be sung to 'Soldau.' In English didactic poetry the strong ending is almost universal, while in Gaelic it is comparatively rare. When the long and short ending occurs in alternate lines, as in 'An Airc,' the effect is better suited to the subject. But of course the single or double short endings in Gaelic poetry are very well suited for lively themes. The study of Gaelic metres is very

interesting, but our space forbids our developing the subject further.

Morrison shows the marvellous flexibility of the Gaelic language as an instrument for the poet, whether his subject be religious or secular. Whether the language is equally adapted for modern commercial life is another question that will not be settled until Scottish Gaelic scholars face the question of technical terms with the courage that Irish scholars are showing at the present moment.

When we consider Morrison's work as a whole, we cannot withhold from him the tribute of hearty admiration. For intellectual power and depth of thought he has hardly an equal among Gaelic writers. While it is true that he belongs to a special religious movement, identified with the Free Church, more than to the universal world of literature, yet his poetry is so musical, he has such an art of winning friends, that even those who come to him solely from the literary attraction of his mastery of Gaelic metre and verse, end by taking him to their hearts. We hardly value sufficiently our Gaelic religious poets. The better Morrison is known in his poetry and also in his personal character the more will he be respected and revered. So much cannot be said for all our secular poets. A mind that could keep up so prolonged and majestic a stream of original and sublime poetry full of vigour and beauty of diction, deserves to be remembered with honour by all Highlanders. Remembered he will be with sincere respect, when the pompous little big men of his own day and ours, who strut upon the stage filled with the self-importance of emptiness and vanity, will be utterly forgotten.

Chaucer's famous lines on the Parish Priest apply with full force to this saint of the Isles :

> Christes lore, and the Apostles twelve
> He preached but first he practised it himselve.

DUGALD BUCHANAN

MY ROMANTIC INTRODUCTION TO HIS POETRY

WILLIAM JOLLY

AFTER a happy Sunday, or Sabbath, as Dugald Buchanan would have rather called it, Alister Cameron and I set out for the summit of Schiehallion. Going some four miles down the Tummel, we ascended the north slope from the farm of Tempar. From there the path, though rough, is clear, especially to a mountaineer like Cameron, and the ascent is comparatively easy. Our heels were light and our hearts lighter; and we soon gained the crest, the centre knot on the garlanded brow of the Fair Maiden Mountain. Unlike Milton, I shall not attempt the impossible, in prose or rhyme, to describe the view from this divine peak of vantage, the rolling tumult of strong waves in crested Atlantean billows, hollow glens, gleaming lakes, sinuous streams, and all the glittering glories of the wondrous panorama. I have ascended since then most of the mountains in Britain. I have climbed Helvellyn and his brother hills in Lakeland; have slept on Ben Nevis, the truly Heaven-Kissing Ben—as best it signifies in Gaelic; have stood and gazed with wonderment at the Jungfrau, but Schiehallion equals all.

Hutton and Maskelyne's wonderful weighing of the world here took place in 1777. It is a unique feature in the cap of the Maiden Mountain. Though a pet name for many a Highland hill, she assuredly and rightfully bears the palm for both beauty of form and this marvellous achievement. The peak is a kenspeckle object seen from far, being visible and easily distinguished even by the monarch, Ben Nevis himself, from whose craggy crown I have often dutifully saluted his distant and handsome daughter, of whose name another and curiously related

meaning is the Fairy Hill. When we had sufficiently realised this monumental problem and its successful solution on the very spot itself, we turned to the wilderness of bens and glens at our feet in search of a way to return. Down below us, towards the west, slept a snug sheiling, evidently the shelter of some shepherd; and, beyond it, wonderful to tell, lay a wreath of snow, still unmelted in August, which nestled in a hollow corrie, known, as my companion told me, as *Coire Chuithe* (Corry-Hooie), the Corrie of the Snow Wreath, in old Gaelic; the very name proving at once its existence in ancient days and its permanence, which caught the keen notice of the Celts and gained its title to distinction. After a glorious lunch, towards these two points we bent our eager steps. The descent was steep and trying, especially to an unaccustomed Sassenach, for we took the hill straight down.

Soon we reached the sheiling or *àirigh* (*ahree*), as it is called in the native tongue, set down there alone in the profoundest of solitudes. This gave me my first feeling, but certainly not the last by many hundred times, of absolutely pure solitariness. It thrilled us to the soul; and entered into my blood with an intensity I still vividly recall and which death only can destroy.

I was certainly fortunate, thus early in life, and in the Highlands, where I was fated to spend the best of my years, to obtain such typical and valuable experiences, in such varied aspects as during these memorable days in Rannoch.

The door of the hut was open to all comers, human or animal, and we gladly entered. We found it dry and snug, with one chair, one small home-made table, and a couch of heather on one side of the fireplace. Near a small window, in a hole in the wall, lay three books, which we examined with interest. We found them to be the strangest of mixtures—the inevitable Bible, a convincing tribute to the religiosity of the Celts and of their pastoral representative here, and *Madeline Smith's Trial*, then lately decided. But to us, strangest of all, there lay a single volume of Dr. Roger's

Scottish Poets, a pretty proof of the Scot's love of poetry, the three volumes rightly representing Religion, Poesy, and Humanity—a not unworthy trinity and epitome of the national character, are they not? The *Poets* we perused with avidity, as we rested by the burnside, and there—who could have predicted it?—we found, at the end, translations from the Gaelic Muse, and among these, from Dugald Buchanan's poetry, which we had sought in vain the night before at Kinloch! With intense surprise and keenest zest, we read aloud the Gaelic specimens and much more, which tasted curiously sweet and delightfully appropriate to the situation—away there alone in the very heart of the old Caledonian hills, by that lonely sheiling, soothed by the murmuring stream, in that inexpressible solitude, on the skirts of Schiehallion! Though nigh half a century ago, it seems but as yesterday since we sat together there; and the very rustle of the leaves in the rising breeze, and the glory of that gathering gloaming in that far-off glen, are as clear to that eye 'that is the bliss of solitude,' as last night's memories, and yesterday's experiences.

After this unexpected and charming literary interlude, and after bathing our weary feet in the burn, we set out once more to clamber to the elevated chamber that hid the Snow Wreath. This we soon reached after a severe scramble; and there we slid on its crystalline surface and threw snowballs at each other till we were tired, in the middle of August! This Wreath, it seems, is perennial, being so set in that Corrie towards the north that the sun's rays cannot reach it, and the snow there has never melted away, a pocket specimen of eternal snows and Alpine conditions. Of such curious patches there are several in the Highlands; and on one property the tenure is dependent on the continuous existence of the wintry Wreath!

But night hastened, while we willingly lagged in highest health and hilarity; and after consuming the last morsel of what now seemed a too limited luncheon, we hastened,

footsore but unfatigued, in that exhilarating air, by Inverhadden to Kinloch, where we slept the sleep that knew no waking, till roused once more to a new day.

CONN, SON OF THE RED

(An Ossianic Tale)

Donald A. Mackenzie

The Fians sojourned by the shore
Of comely Cromarty, and o'er
The wooded hill pursued the chase
With ardour. 'Twas a full moon's space
Ere Beltane's rites would be begun
With homage to the rising sun,
Ere to the spirits of the dead
Would sacrificial blood be shed
In yon green grove of Navity—
When Conn came over the Eastern Sea
His heart a-flame with vengeful ire
To seek for Goll who slew his sire,
When he was seven years old.

Finn saw
In dreams, ere yet he came, with awe
The Red One's son so fierce and bold
In combat with his hero old—
The king-like Goll, of valorous might,
A stormy billow in the fight
No foe could e'er withstand.

He knew
The strange ship bore brave Conn, and blew
Clear on his horn the Warning Call,
And round him thronged the Fians all
With wond'ring gaze.

The sun drew nigh
The bal-fires of the evening sky
And faggot-clouds, with blood-red glare,
Caught flame, and in the radiant air
Lone Wyvis like a jewel shone—
While all the Fians gazed on Conn.

For, stooping on the high Look-Out,
They watched the ship that tacked about,
Now slant across the firth, and now
Laid bare below the cliff's broad brow,
And heaving on a billowy steep,
Like to a monster of the deep
That wallowed, labouring in pain—
And Conn stared back with cold disdain.

Pond'ring, he sat alone behind
The broad sail swallowing the wind,
As o'er the hollowing waves that leapt
And snarled with foaming lips, and swept
Around the bows in querulous fray,
And tossed in curves of drenching spray,
The belching ship with ardour drove;
Then like a lordly elk that strove
Amid the hounds, and, charging, rent
The pack asunder as it went,
It bore round and in beauty sprang—
The sea-wind through the cordage sang
With high and wintry merriment
That stirred the heart of Conn, intent
On vengeance, and for battle keen—
So hard, so steadfast and serene.

Then Ossian, sweet of speech, spake low
With musing eyes upon the foe,
'Is Conn more noble than The Red
Whom Goll in combat vanquishèd?'
'The Red was fiercer,' Conan cried—
'Nay, Conn is nobler,' Finn replied,
'More comely, stalwart, mightier far—
What sayest thou, Goll, my man of war?'
Then Goll made answer on the steep,
Nor turned his sullen gaze and deep—
'His equal never came before
Across the seas to Alban shore—
And never have I peered upon
A nobler, mightier man than Conn.'

The ship flew sea-ward, tacking wide,
Contending with the wind and tide;
And when upon the broad stream's track
It baffled hung, or drifted back,

With grunt and shriek like battling boars,
The shock and swing of bladed oars
Came sounding o'er the sea.

The dusk
Grew round the twilight like a husk
That holds a kernel choice, and keen
Cold stars impaled the sky serene,
When Conn's ship through the slackening tide
Drew round the wistful bay and wide,
Behind the headlands high that snout
The seas like giant whales, and spout
The salt foam high and loud. . . .

Then sighed
The gasping men who all day plied
Their oars in plunging seas, with hands
Grown stiff, and arms like twisted bands
Drawn numbly as they rose outspent
And staggering from their benches went . . .
The sail flapped quarrelling, and drank
The wind in broken gasps, and sank
With sullen pride upon the boards,
And smote the mast and shook the cords.

Darkly loomed that alien land,
And darkly lowered the Fian band,
For, hovering on the shoreland grey,
The ship they followed round the bay,
Nor sought the sheltering woods until
The shadows folded o'er the hill
Full heavily, and night fell blind,
And laid its spell upon the wind.

The swelling waters sank with sip
And hollow gurgle round the ship;
The long mast rocked against the dim
Soft heaven above the headland's rim.

But while the seamen crouched to sleep,
Conn sat alone in reverie deep,
And saw before him in a maze
The mute procession of his days
In gloom and glamour wending fast—
His heart a-hungering for the past—

Again he leapt a tender boy
To greet his sire with eager joy,
When he came over the wide North Sea
Enriched with spoils of victory—
Then heavily loomed that fateful morn
When tidings of his fall were borne
From Alban shore . . . Again he saw
The youth who went alone with awe
To swear the avenging oath before
The smoking altar, red with gore. . . .

Ah! strange to him it seemed to be
That hour was drawing nigh when he
Would vengeance take . . . And still more strange—
O sorrow!—it would bring no change—
Let blood for blood be spilled, and life
For life be taken in fierce strife—
'Twill ne'er recall the life long sped
Or break the silence of the dead.

But when he heard his mother's wail
Once more, uplifted on the gale,
Moaning The Red, who ne'er returned—
His cheeks with sudden passion burned;
And darkly frowned that valiant man,
As through his quivering body ran
The lightnings of impelling ire,
And impulses of fierce desire.
That surged with a consuming hate
Against a world made desolate,
Unceasing and unreconciled,
And ever clamouring . . . like wild,
Dark-deeded waves that stun the shore,
And through the anguished twilight roar
The hungry passions of the wide
And gluttonous deep unsatisfied.

II

The shredding dawn in beauty spread
Its shafts of splendour, golden-red,
High over the eastern heaven, and broke
Through flaking clouds, in silvern smoke,
That burst a-flame, and fold o'er fold,
Let loose their oozing floods of gold,
Splashed over the foamless deep that lay
Tremulous and clear. In fiery play

The rippling beams that swept between
The sea-cleft Sutor crags serene,
Broke quivering where the waters bore
The soft reflection of the shore.

The pipes of morn were sounding shrill
Through budding woods on plain and hill,
And stirred the air with song to wake
The sweet-toned birds within the brake.

The Fians from their sheilings came
With offerings to the god a-flame,
And round them thrice they sun-wise went,
Then, naked-kneed, in silence bent
Beside the pillar-stones . . .

But now
Brave Conn upon the ship's high prow
Hath raised his burnished blade on high,
And calls on Woden and on Tigh,
With boldness, to avenge the death
Of his great sire. . . . In one deep breath
He drains the hero's draught that burns
With valour of the gods, then turns
His long-sought foe to meet. . . . Great Conn
Sweeps, stooping in a boat, alone,
Shoreward, with rapid blades and bright
That shower the foam-rain pearly white,
And rip the waters, bending lithe,
In hollowing swirls that hiss and writhe
Like adders, ere they dart away,
Bright-spotted with the flakes of spray.

When, furrowing the sand, he drew
His boat the shallowing waters through—
A giant he in stature rose
Straight as a mast before his foes,
With head thrown high, and shoulders wide
And level, and set back with pride;
His bared and supple arms were long
As shapely oars; firm as a thong
His right hand grasped his gleaming blade
Gold-hilted, and of keen bronze made
In leafen shape.

With stately stride
He crossed the level sands and wide,

Then on his shield the challenge gave—
His broad sword thund'ring like a wave—
For single combat. . . .

Red as gold
His locks upon his shoulders rolled;
A brazen helmet on his head
Flashed fire: his cheeks were white and red;
And all the Fians watched with awe
That hero young with knotted jaw,
Whose eyes, set deep, and blue and hard
Surveyed their ranks with cold regard;
While his broad forehead, seamed with care,
Drooped shadowily; his eyebrows fair
Were sloping sideways o'er his eyes
With pond'ring o'er the mysteries.

The eyes of all the Fians sought
Heroic Goll, whose face was wrought
With lines of deep, perplexing thought;
For, gazing on the valiant Conn,
He mourned that his own youth had gone,
When brave, and fierce, and bold, he shed
The life-blood of the boastful Red
Whom none save he would meet . . . He heard
The challenge, and nor spake, nor stirred,
Nor feared . . . His heart grown old, when hate
And lust of glory satiate,
Took secret pride in Conn, and shared
The kinship of the brave. . . .

Who dared
To meet the Viking bold, if he,
The succour of the band, should be
Found faltering or in despair,
Until that day the Fians ne'er
Of one man had such fear . . . Old Goll
Sat musing on a grassy knoll
They deemed he shared their dread . . . Not so
Wise Finn who spake forth firm and slow—
'Goll, son of Morna, peerless man,
The keen desire of every clan,
Far-famed for many a valiant deed,
Strong hero in the time of need—

I vaunt not Conn, nor deem that thou
Dost falter save with meekness now—
But why should'st thou not take the head
Of this bold youth, as of The Red,
His sire, in other days?'

Goll spake:—
'O noble Finn, for thy sweet sake
Mine arms I'd seize with ready hand,
Although, to answer thy command,
My blood to its last drop were spilled—
By Crom! were all the Fians killed,
My sword would never fail to be
A strong defence to succour thee.'

Upon his hard right arm with haste
His crooked and pointed shield he braced,
He clutched his sword in his left hand—
While round the hero of the band
The Fian warriors pressed, and praised
His valour . . . Mute was Goll . . . They raised,
Smiting their hands, the battle cry
To urge him on to victory.

Then one-eyed Goll went forth alone . . .
His face was like a mountain stone—
Cold, hard and grey; his deep-drawn breath
Came heavily like a man nigh death,
But his hard mouth, with lips drawn thin,
Deep-sunken in his wrinkled skin,
Was cunningly crooked: his hair was white,
On his bald forehead gleamed a bright
And livid scar that Conn's great sire
Had cloven when their swords struck fire—
Burly and dauntless, full of might,
Old Goll went humbly forth to fight
With arrogant Conn . . . It seemed The Red
In greater might was from the dead
Restored in his fierce son. . . .

A deep,
Swift silence fell like sudden sleep
On all the Fians waiting there
In sharp suspense and half despair. . . .
The morn was still. A skylark hung
In mid-air fluttering, and sung

A lullaby that grew more sweet
Amid the stillness, in the heat
And splendour of the sun: the lisp
Of faint wind in the herbage crisp
Went past them: and around the bare
And foam-striped sand-banks gleaming fair
The faintly-panting waves were cast
By the wan deep, fatigued and vast.

O great was Conn in that dread hour!
And all the Fians feared his power. . . .
And watched, as in a darksome dream,
The warriors meet. . . . They saw the gleam
Of swift-uplifted swords, and then
A breathless moment came, as when
The lithe and living lightning's flash
Makes pause, until the thunder's crash
Is splintered through the air.

Loud o'er
The blue sea and the shining shore
Broke forth the crash of arms . . . The roll
Of Conn's fierce blows, that baffled Goll,
On sword and shield resounding rang,
While that old warrior stooped, and sprang
Sideways, and swerved, or backward leapt,
As swiftly as the bronze-blade swept
Above him and around. . . . He swayed
Stumbling, but rose. . . . But though his blade
Was ever nimble to defend,
The Fians feared the fight would end
In victory for Conn.

. . . . 'Twas like
As when an eagle swoops to strike,
But swerves with flutt'ring wings, as nigh
Its head a javelin gleams. . . . A cry,
That banished fear of Conn's fierce blows,
From out the Fian ranks arose,
As like a plumed reed in a gust
Goll suddenly stooped . . . A deadly thrust,
That drew the first blood in the fray,
He darting gave. . . . With quick dismay
The valiant Conn drew back. . .

Again
He leapt at Goll, but sought in vain

To blind him with his blows that fell
Like snow-flakes on a sullen well—
For Goll was calm, while great Conn raged,
As hour by hour the conflict waged—
He was a blast-defying tree—
A crag that spurned a furious sea—
And all the Fians with one mind
Set firm their faith in Goll.

The wind
Rose like a startled bird from out
The heather at the huntsman's shout
In swift and blust'ring flight. . . . At noon
The sun rolled in a cloudy swoon
Dimly, and over the swelling deep
Gust followed gust with shadowy sweep;
And waves that streamed their snowy locks
Were tossing high against the rocks
Seaward; while round the sands ebbed wide,
Scrambled the fierce, devouring tide.

Oh, Conn was like a hound at morn
That springs upon an elk forlorn
Among the hills. He was a proud
Cascade that leaps a cliff with loud,
Unspending fall . . . So fierce, so fair
Was arrogant Conn; but Goll fought there
Keen-eyed, with ready guard, at bay—
He was a boar in that fierce fray.

The waves were humbled on the shore
And silent fell, amid the roar
And crash of battle . . . Mute and still
The Fians watched, while on the hill
The little elves came out and gazed
To be amused, . . . and were amazed . . .

They saw upon the shrinking sands
The warriors with restless hands
And busy blades . . . with shields that rose
To buffet the unceasing blows;
They saw before the rising flood
The flash of fire, the flash of blood,
And watched the men with panting breath
Striving to be the slaves of Death—
Now darting wide, now swerving round,
Now clashed together in a bound,

With splitting swords that smote so fast
As hour by hour unheeded past.

The sands were torn, and tossed like spray
Before the whirlwind of the fray,
That waged in fury till the sun
Sank, and the day's last loops were spun—
Then terrible was Goll! . . . He rose
A tempest of increasing blows—
More furious and fast, as dim
Uncertain twilight fell . . . More grim
And great he grew as, looming large,
He fought, and pressing to the marge
Of ocean, he o'erpowered and drave
The Viking hero back, till wave,
O'er ready wave, that hurried fleet,
Snuffled and snarled about their feet.

Then with a mighty shout that made
The rocks around him ring, his blade
Swept like a flash of fire to smite
The last fell blow in that fierce fight—
So great Conn perished like The Red
By Goll's left hand: his life-blood spread
Over the quenching sands where rolled
His head entwined with locks of gold.

Then passed like thunder o'er the sea
The Fians shout of victory;
And trembling on the tossing ships
The Vikings heard with voiceless lips,
And dim, despairing eyes . . . Alone
Stood Goll, and, like a silent stone
Bulking upon a ben-side bare,
He bent above the hero fair—
Remembering the mighty Red,
And wondering that Conn lay dead.

A NEW SOLUTION OF THE FAIRY PROBLEM

DAVID MACRITCHIE

THE traditions relating to the people comprehensively although somewhat vaguely included under the denomination 'fairy' have been much discussed during the past two or three generations, and the cause of the existence of such traditions has been variously explained. A new solution of the problem—new, at any rate, in respect that its exponent is a modern man of scholarly attainments—is now offered to us by Mr. W. Y. Evans Wentz, A.M., of Stanford University, California, who is also a member of Jesus College, Oxford. These two qualifications indicate pretty clearly that his outlook is far from restricted, and this inference is further strengthened when one learns that the volume of fully three hundred pages in which he sets forth his opinions was published at Rennes (Imprimerie Oberthur, 1909), at the close of a residence of some months in Brittany, where he had been investigating the Breton forms of the beliefs in question. The result of all his studies may be gleaned from the title which he has given to his book: *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries: Its Psychical Origin and Nature.*

A number of the readers of the *Celtic Review*, including the present writer, have had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Wentz while he was engaged in his researches in various parts of Celtica, and all of these can testify to the ardour with which he has followed up his enquiry, and his manifest desire to consider the evidence before him in the most judicial and impartial fashion. That he has gone about his work in a very thorough way is evident. His Bibliographical Index contains the names of one hundred and twenty-six books and papers from which he has derived information, and this does not exhaust his list. But even more important, because it denotes original enquiry by a mind previously

free from bias, has been the investigation which he has personally carried out. He thus explains his method in the Introduction to his book :—

'In June 1908, after a year's preparatory work in things Celtic under the direction of the Oxford Professor of Celtic, Sir John Rhys, I began to travel and to collect material at first-hand from the people who have shaped and who still keep alive the Fairy-Faith in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Brittany. . . . And with all this came the shaping of my own opinions ; for when I set out from Oxford in June, I had no certain nor any very clear ideas as to what fairies are, nor why there should be belief in them. By November I found myself committed to the Psychical Theory, which I am herein setting forth.'

Before beginning to define his own position, Mr. Wentz deals briefly with certain theories which seem to him unsatisfactory. His observations in this connection may be briefly summarized :—

'We make continual reference throughout this study to a Psychical Theory of the origin of the Celtic Fairy-Faith, and it is our purpose to demonstrate this theory as the root theory which includes or absorbs the four theories already advanced to account for the belief in fairies.

'The first of these may be called the Naturalistic Theory, which is, that in ancient and modern times man's belief in gods, spirits, or fairies has been the direct results of his attempts to explain or to rationalize natural phenomena.

'The second theory may be called the Pygmy Theory, which Mr. David MacRitchie, who is definitely committed to it, has so clearly set forth in his well-known work entitled *The Testimony of Tradition*. This theory is that the whole fairy-belief has grown up out of a folk-memory of an actual pygmy race. This race is supposed to have been a very early, prehistoric, probably Mongolian race, which inhabited the British Islands and many parts of Continental Europe. When the Celtic nations appeared, these pygmies were driven into mountain-fastnesses and into the most inaccessible places, where a few of them may have survived until comparatively historical times. Sir John Rhys of Oxford, strongly inclined to the same theory, says this : " The key to the fairy idea is that there was

once a real race of people to whom all kinds of attributes, possible and impossible, have been given in the course of uncounted centuries of story-telling by races endowed with a lively imagination."

'The Druid Theory to account for fairies is less widespread. It is that the folk-memory of the Druids and their magical practices is alone responsible for the Fairy-Faith. The first suggestion of this theory seems to have been made by Patrick Graham, in his *Sketches Descriptive of Picturesque Scenery on the Southern Confines of Perthshire*, published in 1806. [Slightly earlier is the Rev. Dr. Cririe's reference in his *Scottish Scenery*, London, 1803, pp. 347-8.] Alfred Maury in *Les Fées du Moyen-Age*, published in 1843, at Paris, appears to have made liberal use of Patrick Graham's suggestions in setting up his theory that the *fées* or fairy-women of the Middle Ages are due to a folk-memory of druidesses. . . . As in the case of the Pygmy Theory, we maintain that the Druid Theory also is a partial and inadequate one.

'The fourth theory, the Mythological Theory, is of very great importance. It is that fairies are the diminished figures of the old pagan divinities of the early Celts; and many modern authorities on Celtic mythology and folk-lore hold it. To us the theory is an acceptable one so far as it goes. But it is not adequate in itself nor is it the root theory, because a belief in gods and goddesses must in turn be explained; and in making this explanation we arrive at the Psychical Theory, which this study—perhaps the first one of its kind—attempts to demonstrate.'

Deferring to a later page a consideration of the theory with which Mr. Wentz has, with good reason, associated my name, I shall proceed to make his own position as clear as it is possible to do in a condensed form.

'The new psychology or psychical research has been forced to admit—if only as a working hypothesis—the possibility of invisible intelligences or entities able to influence man and nature.' This observation (p. xvii) gives the keynote to his argument. 'Most of the evidence points so much in one direction,' he further states (p. 12), 'that the only verdict which seems reasonable is that the origin of the Fairy-Faith is psychical; that is to say, that fairyland is a state or condition, realm or place, very much like, if not the same as, that wherein civilized and uncivilized men equally locate the souls of the dead, in company with other invisibles such as gods, dæmons, and all sorts of good and bad spirits. As a premise, which perhaps cannot be

as scientifically proven as we should like it to be, let us go even further, and say that fairyland, being thought of as an invisible world within which the visible world is immersed as an island in an unexplored ocean, actually exists, and that it is peopled by more species of living beings than this world, because incomparably more vast and varied in its possibilities.'

Again (p. 13) :—

'It has become, perhaps always has been in modern times, a widespread opinion, even among some scholars, that the belief in fairies is the sole property of simple, uneducated country-folk, and that people who have had a touch of education and a little common-sense knocked into their heads, to use the ordinary language, wouldn't be caught believing in such nonsense. . . . But we shall say now, for we can say it truly, that there are men in Dublin, in other parts of Ireland, in Scotland too, whom all the world know as educated leaders in their respective fields of activity, who not only declare their belief that fairies were, but that fairies are ; and some of these men have the power to see fairies as real subjective existences at the psychic centres to which we have referred in the preceding chapter.' 'The Ben Bulben country and Ross Point in County Sligo are among the very rare places in Ireland for seeing fairies, and it is no secret that more than one Dublin seer often make pilgrimages thither ' (p. 45).

Nor is the area of these manifestations limited to Celtic lands :—

'I have been told by a friend in California, who is a student of psychical sciences, that there exists in certain parts of that state, notably in the Yosemite Valley, as the Red Men seem to have known, according to their traditions, invisible races exactly comparable to the " gentry " of this Ben Bulben country as our seer-witness describes them and as other seers in Ireland have described them, and quite like the " people of peace " as described by Kirk, the seventh son, in his *Secret Commonwealth*. These California races are known to exist now, as the Irish and Scotch invisible races are known to exist now, by seers who can behold them ; and, like the latter races, are said to be a distinct order of beings who have never been in physical embodiments ' (p. 48). 'There is scientific proof that spirits do exist, and that some of them are just like fairies of the pygmy kind ' (p. 289).

One other statement by our author serves to define his attitude still more clearly. In referring to the Celtic Atlantis, or Gardens of the Hesperides, variously known as Hy Brasil, Avalon, and Glas Innis, he observes (p. 165) :—

> 'Even yet at rare intervals, like a phantom, Hy Brasil appears far out on the Atlantic. No later than last summer [1908] it was seen from West Ireland, just as that strange, invisible island near Innismurray, inhabited by the invisible "gentry," is seen—once in seven years. And Hy Brasil has been seen by too many men of intelligence, even together, or separated at the same moment, as during the summer of 1908, to explain it away as an illusion of the senses. Nor can it be due to a mirage such as we know, because neither its shape nor position conform to any known island or land mass.'

From a consideration of these extracts it becomes evident that Mr. Wentz's 'Psychical Theory' is nothing less than a restatement in modern terms of the old belief that fairies are veritably supernatural (or, more correctly, non-human) beings, and that Fairyland has to-day a real existence. His assertion, already quoted, that there is 'an invisible world within which the visible world is immersed as an island in an unexplored ocean, and that it is peopled by more species of living beings than this world, because incomparably more vast and varied in its possibilities'—that assertion is one which forms an article of belief in most religions; and no one can prove that it is erroneous. But in saying that I am very far from admitting that Mr. Wentz's interpretation of fairy story is the most convincing of the five theories specified by him. In a great number of the tales of this class a much more commonplace explanation seems to me preferable.

Let us glance, for example, at the stories of vanishing or enchanted islands. To this category belonged, at one time, the little island of Eynhallow, which lies between Rousay and the mainland of Orkney. 'Once upon a time,' says Mr. Duncan J. Robertson,[1] 'the isle was enchanted, and visible

[1] *The Orkney Book*, p. 392: Edinburgh, 1909.

to human eyes only at rare intervals. It would rise suddenly out of the sea, and vanish as suddenly before any mortal could reach it.' But the spell was broken one day; and now it is down on the Ordnance Survey Maps, and an ever-present danger to seafarers in that stormy 'roost.' How is one to account for the genesis of such a belief? In our foggy climate the intermittent disappearance and reappearance of coasts and islands is a very familiar phenomenon, and not distinctive of any one island. Where the island lay very far out from land, however, this circumstance might give rise to the superstition, among an ignorant people. But the situation of Eynhallow, with land close to it on either side, will not allow of this explanation. The fact that Eynhallow is traditionally regarded as having been the last refuge of the Finnmen, a people said to have had the power of casting magic spells, has probably a close bearing upon the alleged enchantment of the island.

Inis-Bofin, off the coast of County Mayo, has a similar history to Eynhallow. In this case, the spell was broken by the lighting of a fire on the beach; the Orkney islet having been disenchanted by a man bringing steel in his hand.

In referring to those magic islands which may be sought for in vain on modern charts, Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A., suggests that the tradition may be a far-off memory of actual land, submerged long ago. 'For Atlantis and Brasil and St. Brendan's Island were, perhaps, no myth; and the earthquake-wave that split Inisfitae in three in 802 was but one of a thousand other cataclysms in the all-powerful Atlantic.'[1] It is not necessary to go back an immense period of time to find such geological changes; and it is permissible to suppose that Celtic tradition may contain references to the sunken island which is nowadays represented only by the islet-crag of Rockall; the date of the subsidence of that island being possibly as recent as the year 802.

We need not indulge further in surmises as to why

[1] *The Islands and Coast of Ireland*, p. 24: Dublin, 1905.

Inis-Bofin and Eynhallow were at one time supposed to come and go. They have long since settled down into steady, well-behaved islands, as permanent as any other part of the world. As for the uncharted land of Hy Brasil, I prefer to think with Mr. Westropp that it only now exists as a memory; unless Rockall be held to be its topmost pinnacle. With all deference to Mr. Wentz and his friends, I am unable to believe that any intangible island is ever seen from our shores, although certain individuals are honestly convinced that such an island has at times been made visible to them.

Nor does the Psychical Theory appear to me to offer a satisfactory solution of the groundwork of the fairy stories. In some of their phases these stories can be explained by means of the theories denominated Naturalistic and Mythological. But their real groundwork is, in my opinion, of a much more simple and matter-of-fact description. One of Mr. Wentz's witnesses states (p. 62) that 'the fairies of any one race are the people of the preceding race; the Fomors for the Fir Bolgs, the Fir Bolgs for the Dananns, and the Dananns for us.' To a certain extent I am in agreement with this opinion; for several different races appear to have become telescoped together in these traditional tales. But the dominant note in Celtic folk-lore is that of a small-sized people who lived in hollow hillocks or in underground houses, and who appear to have differed in many ways from the neighbouring races whose habitations, of wood or stone, were built on the surface of the ground. Such were the *daoine-sidhe*, or mound-folk, of Gaelic story. And the recognition of the *daoine-sidhe* as a real people, imperfectly remembered, constitutes the theories known to Mr. Wentz as 'Pygmy' and 'Druid.' For the two theories are one in substance, whether they are in agreement with each other or not.

As one of the advocates of the Pygmy Theory, I may explain that the term 'pygmy' is here used to denote a race of a stature presumably approximating that of the Congo

pygmies who visited this country two or three years ago. Or, to speak more definitely, a race in which the average male stature does not exceed four feet nine inches.[1] This explanation is necessary, because some misapprehension appears to exist with regard to the meaning conveyed by the term. 'Dwarf' is probably a more suitable word. It may be added that the conception of fairies as delicate, aerial beings, of almost microscopic dimensions, is dismissed from consideration, as a comparatively recent creation of fancy. And the erroneous interpretations of *daoine-sidhe* as 'people of peace,' so much at variance with the attributes with which they are credited, is also left out of view. Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, in pointing out the fallacy of this interpretation, insisted on the fact that *sid* or (later) *sidh* denotes a conical mountain, hill, or hillock, and that the *daoine-sidhe* were so named because they were understood to inhabit certain hillocks. The word came to be often applied indifferently to the hillocks and to their inhabitants, without the explanatory *daoine*, *fir*, and *muathan*. Thus, we frequently read of the people themselves as 'the *side*,' or 'the *sidhe*.' Even the compound *sid-brug* (or *brog*), aspirated into *sidh-bhroch*, literally 'hillock-burgh,' had the same double application. One Irish writer Anglicises the latter form as *she frogh*, 'a fairy.' In Gaelic, it has been corrupted into *sia-bra* and *sibhreach*. This usage is paralleled in English in the twofold application of 'bluejacket' and 'redcoat' to these garments themselves and to the men whom they cover.[2]

As adverse critics of the views expressed by myself and others in relation to the mound-dwellers of tradition, Mr. Wentz cites Dr. Bertram C. A. Windle, and Mr. Andrew Lang. I have replied at considerable length to the objec-

[1] This is the upward limit recognized by Dr. Windle in his Introduction to Tyson's *Pygmies of the Ancients*, edition of 1894 (London), p. xv. In some instances a considerably lower limit might be taken; one tribe, for example, being recorded as having a maximum stature of four feet.

[2] This etymological detail is more fully discussed in my 'Notes on the word *Sidh*,' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, December 1893.

tions urged by these writers, in the undernoted publications,[1] to which I refer any reader specially interested in this subject. It is enough to say here that two of the chief objections are thus summarized: '(1) So far as our present knowledge teaches us, there never was a really pygmy race inhabiting the northern parts of Scotland; (2) the mounds with which the tales of little people are associated have not, in many cases, been habitations, but were natural or sepulchral in their nature.'

With reference to the first of these objections, it may be said that the whole question of a dwarf race in Scotland would be removed altogether out of the realm of theory, if the evidence in favour of that belief were so convincing in all respects as to leave no room for doubt in the mind of any reasonable person. It is a good deal an affair of mental bias. Nothing less than the discovery of a large number of skeletons, denoting an actual dwarf race, is requisite for those who can only be satisfied with tangible proof. On the other hand, it appears to myself and a considerable number of those who have examined this question, that the existence of such a race is so strongly indicated by several separate deductions that any further evidence would be regarded rather as confirmation of a conclusion already arrived at than as something essential to the solution of a previously doubtful problem.

Of the existence and world-wide distribution of pygmy or dwarf races, there is no question whatever; although the study of these people is still so comparatively recent that the fact of their existence, past and present, has scarcely yet been grasped by the general mind. It is yet quite customary to speak of the 'fable' which recounts the wars between the pygmies and the cranes. The late Sir William Flower's suggestion that this fable is merely a confused memory of the ostrich-hunting dwarf tribes of the Nile region is, however, generally accepted by specialists. Those

[1] *The Academy*, London, 12th June 1895, pp. 37-38, and *The Monthly Review*, London, January 1901, pp. 131-148.

now extinct dwarfs of Northern Africa are referred to by many classic writers [1] and Brugsch cites an inscription at Karnak which states how 'the dwarfs of the southern countries come to him [the reigning Ptolemy], bringing their tributes to his treasury.' M. Edouard Naville further infers, from a picture in the great temple of Bubastis, that the vergers of the temple were specially selected from that race; a custom possibly derived from the dwarf-worship of Egypt and Phœnicia. The *Gammadim* of the Jewish Scriptures,[2] rendered *Pygmœi* in the Vulgate, were presumably of the same stock.

The observations of Sir Harry Johnston, who has encountered many of the African dwarfs, are so germane to the present theme, that one of his most suggestive passages may well be quoted here. He remarks as follows: 'Other dwarf races of humanity [than the Congo pygmies] belonging to the white or the Mongolian species may have inhabited Northern Europe in ancient times, or it is just possible that this type of Pygmy Negro, which survives to-day in the recesses of Inner Africa, may even have overspread Europe in remote times. If it did, then the conclusion is irresistible that it gave rise to most of the myths and beliefs connected with gnomes, kobolds, and fairies. The demeanour and actions of the little Congo dwarfs at the present day remind one, over and over again, of the traits attributed to the brownies and goblins of our fairy stories. Their remarkable power of becoming invisible by adroit hiding in herbage and behind rocks, their probable habits in sterile or open countries of making their homes in holes and caverns, their mischievousness and their prankish good-nature, all seem to suggest that it was some race like this which inspired most of the stories of Teuton and Celt regarding a dwarfish people of quasi-supernatural attributes.'[3]

It will be seen that Sir Harry Johnston, postulating the

[1] Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Aristotle, Ctesias, Herodotus, and Homer.

[2] Ezekiel xxvii. 11.

[3] *Pall Mall Magazine*, February 1902, p. 178.

existence of a negrito race in early Europe, regards as a conclusion quite irresistible the ascription to them of the majority of the stories relating to 'brownies.' He further suggests that other dwarf races of humanity, belonging to the white or the Mongolian species, may have formerly inhabited Northen Europe. That all these surmises are well founded is being steadily established by the researches of European anatomists; and Professor Julius Kollmann, of the University of Basle, who has studied this question for many years, has arrived at the conviction that the dwarf races represent the primitive stock from which all the taller races have been evolved. Thus science, by rational deduction, is to-day confirming what the sagas have told us long ago, that the dwarfs were created before 'men,'—*i.e.* the taller races.

Many specimens of the extinct European pygmy have now been examined by the anatomists of various countries. As early as 1892, Dr. Nüesch, of the College of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, described the osseous remains of dwarfs which he had discovered at Schweizersbild, lying side by side with the remains of people of ordinary stature. The average stature of these Swiss dwarfs was 1424 mm., or about 4 feet 8 inches. Professor Kollmann points out that the bones were pronounced by Professor R. Virchow to be of normal structure, and not those of pathologically degenerated people. It must be clearly understood that in all the instances here referred to, the skeletal remains examined by anatomists were those of a dwarf *race*, and did not represent abnormal specimens of a race of ordinary stature. The numerous pygmy remains found in cemeteries in Silesia and France, described by Professor Thilenius of Breslau [1] and others, and those recorded at Mentone by Verneau and De Villeneuve, all afford parallel evidence. In several instances, the bones of these two different types of man have been found together, thus implying that, in these cases, at least, the two races had lived together in amity.

[1] Now of Hamburg.

Tradition, however, while it often endorses this belief, speaks also of frequent conflicts between the dwarfs and their taller neighbours. Such a state of matters in the Netherlands is indicated by a modern Flemish writer,[1] in these words: 'The Fenlanders, a race dwelling in our country prior to the Celts, were little people, but strong, dexterous, and good swimmers; living by hunting and fishing. Adam of Bremen in the eleventh century thus pictures their descendants or race: "They had large heads, flat faces, flat noses, and large mouths. They lived in caves of the rocks, which they quitted in the night-time for the purpose of committing sanguinary outrages." The Celtic people, and later those of German race, so tall and strong,' observes our modern commentator, 'could hardly look upon such little folk as human beings. They must have regarded them as strange, mysterious creatures. And when these negroes, or Fenlanders, had lived for a long enough time hidden in their grottoes, for fear of the new people, especially when they at length fell into decay through poverty, or died out, they became changed in the imagination of the dreamy Germans into mysterious beings, a kind of ghosts or gods.'

This traditional account of a race of black dwarfs inhabiting the Netherlands is, it will be noticed, singularly in agreement with Sir Harry Johnston's hypothesis. But he also assumes that the yellow and white races may have had similar precursors in Europe. There is plenty of room for conjecture as to the complexion of these races, and as to the various periods when they may have flourished. The much-used adjective 'prehistoric' is often employed with little warrant. Indeed, the Italian anthropologists, Sergi, Mantia, and Pullé, have deduced an early 'Mediterranean race' of pygmy stature from a study of existing types.

The following brief extracts from a very instructive paper published this autumn[2] are much to the purpose: 'In an

[1] In the Flemish folk-lore journal, *Ons Volksleven*, June 1895, p. 104.

[2] 'Traditions of Dwarf Races in Ireland and Switzerland,' by Miss Elizabeth Andrews; *The Antiquary*. London: Elliot Stock, October 1909.

article on "The Fairy Mythology of Europe in its Relation to Early History" (*Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1908), Mr. A. S. Herbert identifies the early dwarf race with Palæolithic men, and states that from such skeletons as have been unearthed, "it is believed that they were a people of Mongolian or Turanian origin, short, squat, yellow-skinned, and swarthy." Professor J. Kollmann of Basle, speaking of dwarf races, describes "the flat, broad face, with a flat, broad, low nose and large nose roots." Compare these statements with the description given by Harris in the eighteenth century of the native inhabitants of the northern and eastern coasts of Ireland. "They are," he says, "of a squat sett Stature, have short, broad Faces, thick Lips, hollow Eyes, and Noses cocked up, and seem to be a distinct people from the Western Irish, by whom they are called Clan-galls—*i.e.* the offspring of the Galls." '

As a pendant to this modern instance may be taken the description of a certain part of the commonalty of Caithness in the year 1750 as 'pitifull half-starved Creatures, of a Low Dwarfish Stature, whom a Stranger would hardly believe to be Inhabitants of Great Britain."[1] In both of these cases, a community is indicated which differs much from the prevailing type, and is characterized by low stature.

Just across the narrow firth which separates Caithness from Orkney, the tradition of a previous dwarfish race still survives. This tradition, to use the more modest term, although much that passes as 'history' has no better authority, was placed upon record in the year 1443 by the then Governor and Bishop of Orkney, Thomas Tulloch, in his Latin account *De Orcadibus Insulis*. Tulloch was Governor of Orkney (1422-48) under the Scandinavian monarch, Eric VII. of Denmark, Orkney being at that time a Danish possession. His account naturally goes back to the ninth century, when the Scandinavians, under Harold Haarfagr, conquered and colonized the archipelago. At

[1] *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*, edited by Mr. Andrew Lang, p. 7. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1898.

that time, says Tulloch, the islands were occupied by two races—one that of the *papæ*, or priests, now generally assumed to have been Gaelic missionaries, and the other the *Peti*. Of the *Peti* he asserts that they were 'not much bigger than pygmies in stature, and worked wonderfully in the construction of their burghs,'[1] taking refuge at other times in 'little underground houses.' These *Peti* are generally identified with the Picts of history, but Mr. W. C. Mackenzie is of opinion that the countryfolk have confused the latter people with an earlier dwarf race of *Peti* or *Pehts*.[2] The common belief, however, is strongly endorsed by Mr. Charles H. Chambers, who, writing to the *Anthropological Review* in 1864, observes: 'I believe the race which inhabited the northern shores of Europe to have been akin to the Laps, Fins, and Esquimaux, and the Pickts or Pechts of Scotland, and to have given rise to many of the dwarf, troll, and fairy stories extant among the sagas and elsewhere.' One thing certain is that the builders and occupants of the little underground houses of Orkney must have been a small people. The entrance passage to one of these dwellings, on the north-west side of Wideford Hill, near Kirkwall, is only 15 inches high and 22 inches broad, its length being 15 feet. 'What size could the people have been who crawled in through such rabbit holes as the passages of this eirde house are?' asks Mr. J. R. Tudor.[3] 'No wonder the popular idea is that the Pechts or Picts were an uncanny race.' Of nearly the same dimensions were the two passages leading into a 'Fairy Knowe' near Stromness, which I assisted in exploring in 1902, except that they were only 4 feet in length. It might be thought that, when it comes to crawling along such a passage, there is no deduction possible as to stature. But the experiences of Danish colonists among the Greenland Eskimos have shown, if proof were

[1] *In structuris urbium mira operantes.*

[2] See his article, 'The Picts and Pets,' in *The Antiquary*. London: Elliot Stock, May 1906.

[3] *The Orkneys and Shetland*, pp. 284-286: London, 1883.

necessary, that the small man can creep along a passage where the man of longer limbs finds progress impracticable.

Although many of the underground structures of Scotland and Ireland are spacious enough for ordinary men, the significant fact remains that a certain proportion of them cannot be so used. 'The entrances are small, but the tiny doorways between one chamber and another are even of more diminutive dimensions—great numbers being too small to admit the average-sized man—a person having to lie down flat in order to get through, and even then the width will not allow other than the shoulders of a woman or a boy to pass through.' These are the words of one who has made a long and precise study of the Irish souterrains,[1] and they apply with equal force to several of the kindred structures in Scotland.

In considering the Irish mound-dwellings and souterrains we again find the Pict equation brought before us. 'In an ancient genealogy,' observes the late Mr. Herbert Hore,[2] 'we read of a wife who was obtained from the mounds of the son of Scal Balbh, or King of Pictland.' Possibly this refers to Nar, daughter of Lotan of the Pict-folk, who is chronicled as having come 'out of the mound-dwellings,' *a sidaib no do Chruithentuaith.*[3] There is some reason for supposing that this Nar lived in the sixth century of our era, and that her father ruled over the Picts of Meath, and perhaps of Ulster. She is again mentioned in a Gaelic MS., which formerly belonged to the M'Lauchlans of Kilbride (Argyll), and is now in the Advocates' Library; and again in a folio vellum MS., now in the Royal Irish Academy.[4] Nar

[1] Mrs. Mary Hobson, in 'An Account of some Souterrains in Ulster,' read before the British Association at Leicester in 1907. See also her paper, 'Some Ulster Souterrains,' in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxxix., January-June, 1909.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, June 1895, p. 128.

[3] *Book of Ballymote*, 250 *a*, *b*, as quoted in Dr. Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, English volume, pp. 495, 544.

[4] See, respectively, Kilbride MS. No. 3, 5 (as quoted in *Silva Gadelica*, English volume, pp. 495, 544), and Petrie's *Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 97, 99: Dublin, 1845.

was married to Crimthann, of the royal race of Tara, who became known as ' Nar's Champion ' (Niadh-Náir). The kings of Tara had been accustomed to bury at Cruachan in Connaught, but Nár induced her husband to abandon this practice, and to agree to be buried in the Cemetery of the Brugh (*Relec in Broga*), in the Boyne valley, where all her forefathers had been buried. In due time, therefore, this was done, and ' the Barc [cairn] of Crimthann Niadh-Náir, in which he was interred,' is mentioned in the Dinnsenchus as one of the many notable monuments in the Cemetery of the Brugh. Now, in stating that Nar's forefathers had all been buried in this cemetery, it is also stated that she and her people were members of the Tuatha Dea, or Dananns, or followers of Danu ; a people frequently spoken of as the *daoine-sidhe*, or mound-dwellers. That part of the Boyne Valley, the Brugh, was specially associated with them. There was the Cemetery of the Brugh, with its many pillar-stones, cairns, cashels, cumots, and fulachts, which marked the burial-places of the famous heroes of the race. There was presumably a large settlement of people, occupying, in winter, although probably not in summer, various souterrains and mound-dwellings. And, lastly, there was the large mound which archæologists associate in name with the neighbouring farm of New Grange. This mound is likely the place spoken of as *Sid an Broga*, or the Mound of the Brugh. It figures prominently in traditional lore, which pronounced it to be a home of ' the little people.' Re-opened in 1695, this mound contains (in one part, for its exploration has never been completed) a stone-built room and entrance passage, exactly corresponding with the ground-plan of the stone-built winter-huts used by the Eskimos of North Greenland at the present day [1]

From the statements made in the three preceding paragraphs it will be seen that what Mr. Wentz calls the Pygmy Theory is really much more than a theory. There may be a

[1] See illustration at p. 236 of Eivind Astrup's *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer*: Christiania, 1895.

difference of opinion as to whether the Gaelic and Norse chroniclers were right in associating the Picts with the little underground houses to which I have referred with a brevity unworthy of the theme. In a future paper I hope to discuss this question more fully, not omitting to consider the 'Druid Theory.' What is quite clear is that the small souterrains of the British Isles must have been constructed by a small race. And it appears to me and to many others that these structures and their occupants form the basis of the tales which relate to the intercourse, often quite homely and matter-of-fact, between people of ordinary stature and a small race living underground.

PAN-CELTIC NOTES

A CONFERENCE of Celtic societies in London convened by the Celtic Association (London Branch) was held on 14th July last at 64 Chancery Lane, by permission of Mr. Vincent Evans. The chair was taken by the Right Hon. Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory, P.C., K.P., ('MacGiolla Phadruic'), President of the Celtic Association, and eleven Celtic organisations were represented, either officially or by individual members. The conference resolved that an association be created upon lines suggested by Mr. Henry Jenner (Cornwall), to which all the other Celtic Societies should be affiliated, or, in the alternative, or as a sequent idea, that a permanent Celtic Club on lines indicated by Mr. A. Perceval Graves, junior (Ireland), be established in London. Mr. Jenner's proposal is:—

'That a Central Celtic Association be formed (or perhaps the present Celtic Association be adapted) with the object of promoting Celtic Congresses, concerts, lectures, and other entertainments, and perhaps eventually of obtaining some building in which the offices of existing London Celtic Societies might be collected. Such association to consist of:—

(1) Members joining individually.

(2) National or Sectional Celtic Societies (Breton, Cornish, Irish, Manx, Scottish and Welsh) joining collectively as members, individual members of such societies to be Associates of the Celtic Association.

The terms of subscription of individual and collective members, and the comparative privileges of members and associates, are left to be settled later.

Mr. Graves's proposal for a Club contains these provisions:—

Membership and Associateship. The Celtic Club would be open to all men and women of Celtic origin or descent as members, and to those in sympathy with the Pan-Celtic Movement as associates.

Objects. (*a*) Social—House Dinners, Dances and Concerts would be held periodically.

(*b*) Educational—The formation of a Language Bureau is suggested. Lectures would be given, and debates held upon Celtic subjects, including the Languages, Science, Art, Music, History, Literature and the Drama of the Celts.

(*c*) Artistic.—Arts and crafts exhibitions would be a prominent feature of this section.

(*d*) Industrial—An industries register would be kept, and a special committee formed to foster Celtic industries.

The questions of premises, subscription, and financial responsibility are dealt with in other provisions, and the suggestion is made that *The Celtic Review* should be the official organ of the Celtic Club.

The conference resolved that both Mr. Jenner's proposal for an association and Mr. Graves's proposal for a club should be submitted in writing to all the Celtic organisations of London with the request that their respective opinions be forwarded to Mr. Graves for communication to the Celtic Association.

The following lectures are on the syllabus of Cumann Eireannach na Liteardhachta, Lonndain (The Irish Literary Society, London), for session 1909-10: 'Novels in Irish Life,' by Mrs. Katharine Tynan Hinkson, on November 6th; 'Possible Development of the Applied Art in Irish Life, by Mr. Charles Gatty, on December 4th; a lecture by Mr. Michael MacDonagh on January 15th; 'The Picturesque in Irish Life,' by Mr. Richardson Evans, on February 20th; 'Economics in Irish Life,' by Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P., on March 20th; 'The Irish Ancestors of Edgar Allan Poe and the Brontës,' by Mr. Vesey Knox, on April 16th; 'Agriculture in Irish Life,' by Mr. George W. Russell ('A. E.'), on May 20th; 'Holy Wells of Ireland,' by the Rev. G. O'Neill, on June 4th. Other dates, beginning with a reception on October 16th, are occupied by Original Nights, History Nights, Literary tea-tables, House Dinners and Dances.

Mr. A. Perceval Graves, junior, will be glad to receive for our Pan-Celtic pages from the secretaries of London Celtic Societies all items of their notes, news, book publications, etc., at his address, 65 Haymarket, London, S.W.

The current number of *The Nationalist*, a quarterly magazine for Wales, edited by Sir Marchant Williams, and published at Cardiff, contains, an 'In Memoriam' notice and an excellent likeness of the late Mr. S. R. John. Our readers may have observed the initials 'S. R. J.' to the Pan-Celtic Notes in our July issue. Mr. John died on the 31st of July.

In the spirit of our beautiful Highland custom of adding a stone to the

cairn of the departed in honour of their memory. we give room to the following quotations from the 'In Memoriam' which is by Mr. H. Jones.

'In the death of Mr. S. R. John, at the sadly premature age of twenty-nine, Wales has lost a gifted and devoted son. For over twelve months he had been failing in health. An insidious disease was steadily sapping his vitality, but he fought it with courage and uncomplaining cheerfulness. Pain he was mercifully spared, and almost to the last, in spite of great physical weakness, the mind remained strong, clear, buoyant. The end came unexpectedly. He was at work on the Celtic studies, that he so much loved, two days before he died.'

'All things Welsh enlisted S. R. John's enthusiastic sympathy. . . . I remember well the look of rapture on his face at the Gorsedd in the Temple Gardens, London, in June 1908. It was his first experience of the Gorsedd circle. Some of us discovered crudities in the ceremonial, but John was conscious only of its symbolism, and its historical significance. He saw in it a relic of the ancient glories of our race. To him it was a symbol of the perpetual protest of the Celts against the dominance of material things, an outward and visible sign of their devotion to the things of the Spirit. . . .

'His love for Wales was not exclusive. The Celt everywhere—in Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland, in Cornwall, in Brittany—was to him an object of intense fascination. He was a highly efficient secretary of the London branch of the Celtic Association, and edited *Celtia*, the Pan-Celtic magazine, with signal ability.'

The bicentenary of the death of Huw Morus, known to his countrymen by the name of 'Eos Ceiriog,' or Nightingale of Ceiriog, has been marked by the erection of a memorial in his native vale of Ceiriog in Denbighshire, and the editor who performed the ceremony of unveiling the monument in August last writes an appreciation of the bard, and gives quotations from the addresses delivered on the occasion by the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas and the crowned bard Cadwan.

'Huw Morus,' said the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, 'was not a poet of nature but of humanity, and especially of its social and homely aspects. Whatever tended to soothe distress and alleviate poverty, to amuse his fellows with quaint humour, or win back an erring brother, to expose pretence, to lash wrong-doing, and to promote good fellowship and pure religion—these appealed to his heart and his muse was ever ready to promote them.'

'Although it is as a bard that Huw Morus is known,' Sir William Marchant said, 'and as a bard he can claim a seat in the hall of the immortals, were all the poetry that adorns his carols, his elegies, his love-songs, his odes and his alliterative epigrams extracted from them, there would be left a mass of wit and wisdom sufficient to mark him out for higher eminence than most of his Welsh contemporaries. I admit that he was not quite as great a poet as Dafydd ab Gwilym; at the same time, I

have to admit I know of no other bard that so closely resembles the great Welsh literary genius of the fifteenth century.'

Cadwan told how a neighbour came to his bedside before he died and asked how he was. He replied :—

> 'I 'm going to a world of bliss,
> I 'm hastening, hastening out of this.
> And He is there ; He bids me come ;
> And in His name I 'm hastening home.'

This was his last *englyn*.

Among the other contents of *The Nationalist* are : 'The National Pageant of Wales ; A Retrospect,' by G. P. Hawtrey ; 'After Ten Years' : in memory of T. E. Ellis, M.P., by Ernest Rhys, with portrait ; 'The Patriot,' by Edward Thomas ; 'Eisteddfod Reform,' by W. E. Davies ; Poetry, including two translations from Welsh by A. Perceval Graves, and one by Edmund O. Jones, and a quaint and charming portrait of 'the sturdy old Welsh bard Robert Williams (Robert ab Gwilym Ddu), the teacher of the much greater bard, Dewi Wyn, and the author of some of the best *englynion* and hymns in the Welsh language.'

Mr. W. J. Watson, M.A., has been appointed Rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh. He has filled a corresponding position for some years in the Royal Academy, Inverness, and his success as an educationalist in the Highland capital has been one, and no doubt the most potent, of several factors in procuring him his new appointment. We can well believe that more than one or two competitors were found to run him close though they failed to outstrip him in the race for the Rectorship of the Royal High School, but as author of a book on Celtic names of places he has no competitor. His *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* is in advance of every book we know on the subject. In that work he attacks and solves problems, the like of which either are not found in Ireland or, so far as found there, are not touched upon in the great and admirable work of Dr. Joyce. His papers in the *Celtic Review* are already an advance upon his book, and we have the promise of greater things from him. Our one regret in connection with his new appointment is the loss that his removal to Edinburgh is to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. That Society does not fail on proper occasion to make due recognition of the value of those members who are scattered far and wide. The distant members do not have so many opportunities perhaps of giving due credit to the services of the members resident in and near the town, in binding the Society together and in maintaining its high level of success. Speaking with our experience of the Society, partly in town but mostly in the country, and at a distance, we would say that its country members view with concern the removal to a distance of a member who gave so much service and who shed so much lustre upon us. There are still left in and around Inverness good men and true who need yield to none in faithfulness to the

society and in ability in their several lines, and it is to be hoped that they will be encouraged by a hearty response to Mr. Watson's parting appeal to Invernessians to swell the ranks of the Gaelic Society and to experience the benefits of association with it.

That of contributor to its pages is not the only relation in which Mr. Watson stands to the *Celtic Review*, and his removal involves also the removal of our Acting Editor from Inverness to Edinburgh. On account of the removal, this number of the *Celtic Review* has had to pass through the press without the care and attention of the Acting Editor, who had to seek relief for the time being from editorial duties, and procure a substitute. We congratulate the *Celtic Review* and its Acting Editor upon the change. It is to the advantage of both that the latter should reside at the seat of publication.

A Summer School of Gaelic has been held for four weeks in August last at Roy Bridge in Inverness-shire. The School on this occasion has been no doubt somewhat of an experiment, but not an unsuccessful experiment. Not only has a beginning been made and the initial difficulties, many and great as these must have been, overcome, but so well satisfied are those who took part in the experiment with its success that a continuance of the School is confidently anticipated. That such an institution if on the right lines would prove of great usefulness and attractiveness is certain, that it has made at least a fair start on those lines at Roy Bridge, and that, if continued, as we trust it will be, it will prove growingly useful and attractive, there is every reason to believe. The promoters of the School, chief of whom has been Mrs. Burnley Campbell of Ormidale, who has so well filled the presidential chair of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* during the past two years, in making their choice of situation, kept in view, it is understood, the quality of the common Gaelic speech of the district as one of the determining considerations. They very properly wished to go where the best Gaelic could be heard about them every day, and without asking whether they could have made some other equally good choice or not, it may safely be said that they could not have made a better. Lochaber Gaelic may or may not be better than any other Gaelic; its claim to be as good as any other would be, we believe, impossible to impugn. Like every other dialect, however, it has provincialisms peculiar to itself. These are by no means to be imitated, and learners should know them and be on their guard against them.

The eighteenth annual Mod of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* has been held this year at Stirling on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of September. New departures have been a concert and Gaelic play on the Thursday, a kilted procession through the city, preparatory to the Grand Concert on the Friday and the holding of the annual business meeting on the Saturday in place of on the Thursday. The concert and play on the Thursday was instituted in the hope that it would lessen the demand for admission to the Grand Concert, but though sufficiently successful in itself it had no appreci-

able results of the kind desired. The total number of entries this year has been six hundred as against four hundred and fifteen last year. Encouraging as this increase is, it is felt to be still more so when we learn that it consists mainly in an increase from sixty-nine last year to two hundred and thirty-one this year in the junior literary competitions.

BOOK REVIEWS

Handbuch des Altirischen: Grammatik, Texte und Wörterbuch. Von RUDOLF THURNEYSEN. Vol. I.: Grammatik. Heidelberg, 1909.

Students have long desired a compendium of Old Irish Grammar from the hand of one of its makers, and in this, the most complete and authoritative handbook that has appeared, their desire is attained.

The work is not merely a well-ordered collection of the facts of Old Irish grammar; very much of it is deduced from the author's own investigation, while of the rest he offers an exposition and interpretation such as few could give.

The practical value of the book is increased by exclusion of controversy and superfluous elements, by the admirable choice of examples, and by the selective nature of the references given. The book is full of philological value, but is not overloaded with philological parallels. Condensed in its six hundred pages is a mass of information, new and old, illumined by the insight and experience of a great grammarian and Celtic scholar of first magnitude.

Here, as elsewhere, the author combines soundness of method and judgment with exceptional crispness and lucidity of language. Frequent cross-references and a helpful index of more than fifty pages facilitate consultation of the work.

The scope of the work is primarily restricted to the grammar of Old Irish. This method has many advantages, although it excludes the later history of the syntax of the language; a subject upon which the student of the modern tongue would gladly have been instructed. As it is, the sections dealing with syntax are of peculiar value. Some one hundred and forty pages deal with the inflection of the verb, in which Professor Thurneysen is at home. There is a useful chapter upon loan-words.

The second volume will contain texts, notes, and vocabulary.

A. O. A.

The Bretons at Home. By FRANCES M. GOSTLING. With an Introduction by ANATOLE LE BRAZ. London: Methuen and Co.

Sadly we hear of the changes that are gradually taking place in the more accessible parts of Brittany to-day, but, in her motor-car, and with the name of M. Anatole le Braz as an Open Sesame to the cave of the Ancient

Treasures of Armorica on her lips, Mrs. Gostling has had access where the ordinary tourist is denied, and has made the best of her exceptional opportunities. Where the spirit stays her, she stays, and chance and a lively curiosity bring her many charming adventures and conversations, described in a style and with a sympathy that raise the book far above the level of the ordinary traveller's tale. With great reverence the author describes the childlike faith, mediæval in its serious simplicity, so characteristic of this ancient people, whose manners and individuality have been preserved even to this day in the remoter parts of the peninsula by the jealous arms of the sea and of poverty. Back through a mist of centuries we are led to a land where Christian saints and their festivals and the gods and goddesses of a more ancient religion become inextricably confused. In a land where the latest century is the fourteenth, where a motor-car is an unpardonable anachronism, we hear old legends of the generous Arthur 'engaged in hunting wild dragons and great beasts,' and we wander amongst tombs where still the spirits of ancient Aryan chiefs may dwell. It is a land peopled with ghosts and shadows and teeming with stories of the saints and their miracles. Their names make sweet symphonies: Yves, the great popular saint, Guennolé, the blind St. Hervé, 'the son of a Christian poet and a Druid priestess,' Tryphina and Gildas the Wise, the Maker of Bells. To those saints, whose shrines, according to the accommodating policy of the early missionaries, have superseded those of the gods and goddesses of a more ancient religion, do the Bretons pray, and if they fail they have been known to go elsewhere. While making inquiries about the Venus of Quinipili, Mrs. Gostling was told the following story. '. . . They have been married fifteen years, and no children, not even a girl. . . . At last my sister-in-law said, "There is only one thing more we can do; we will visit the Groac'h Honard!" My brother was averse to the idea, but what will you when the saints turn a deaf ear and refuse to listen? It was not the fault of my sister-in-law; she had been everywhere, even to Sainte Anne de la Palude in the Finisterre . . . she had worn her feet bare with her pilgrimages, for she is very devout . . . O madame, she did not pray! My sister-in-law would never think of praying save to the Blessed Virgin or to the Saints . . . I do not bestow my approval on such practices. Yet in the case of my sister-in-law who is so devout . . . and who is besides so rich—well, madame,—even the saints cannot blame her; they should have attended to her wants themselves!'

It is the seriousness of the Bretons that is their most remarkable quality. Amongst a population of fishermen the presence of death must be constant, but the Bretons keep Death literally in their midst, for they cluster their village round the cemetery, 'they love to have their dead where they can watch their graves from their windows,' and formerly, even in the churches, there were statues of Death, to which prayers were offered either to spare a friend or for a less estimable purpose. This deep feeling of seriousness penetrates not only their worship in churches but also their weddings and

dances to which they bring a religious fervour. 'Never have I seen such dancing, or heard such maddening, frenzied music. It made one think of these pipes and flutes that led the Bacchanalian revels. . . . There was no fun, no laughter, no refreshments . . . the serious faces of the dancers as they rushed and leapt about belonged to some bygone age.' . . .

The beautiful illustrations in colour by Gaston Fanty Lescure and the interesting photographs add greatly to the charm of the book and to its usefulness. G. M. COLVIN.

Gaelic Songs for Schools. '*Am Bru-dhearg.*' Stirling: MACKAY.

We have received from Mr. E. Mackay, Stirling, an excellent little book of Gaelic songs for schools entitled *The Robin*, price 2s. It is arranged in two-part harmony by C. H. M'Kay and is edited by Mr. M. M'Farlane. It forms one of a series in which *The Blackbird* (Parts I. and II.) and *The Mavis* have already appeared. The earlier booklets, by the same editor, are widely known, and have proved useful in Highland schools, and in preparing children for the Mod Competitions. The latest arrival, *The Robin*, '*Am Bru-dhearg*', contains as interesting a selection of melodies and beautiful airs as any of the others, and deserves to obtain a large circulation. It contains a number of the Action Songs once so popular in the Highlands as well as other pieces, some of which have not been easily accessible hitherto. The book is worth having were it only for the songs *Oidhche mhath leibh* and *Oran Dealachaidh*. But we think the air set to *An tèid thu leam, a rìghinn òg* is a comparatively flat and spiritless version, not to be compared with that which is usually sung to these words. Additional value would be given to these booklets if the editor in future editions could add a page of notes giving explanations of references and remote allusions in the old traditional and historical songs, where such are required for a clear grasp of the meaning of the text. Otherwise some of the allusions will certainly be obscure to children, and probably to the teachers also, with the result that the expression and rendering of the song will be unintelligent. With the help of a few notes these song-books might well be used as poetry readers in schools as well as for vocal purposes. Many of the songs are gems of poetry. A paragraph descriptive of the habits of the Robin appears on one page in Gaelic as a quotation from the *Highland News* and later it is given in English as a quotation from the *Scotsman*! The reader is left to find out by the exercise of literary criticism in which language the extract originally appeared. In Key Signatures Bb constantly occurs for B♭. This is either a printer's emergency or an ugly innovation.

With regard to the two-part harmony arrangements, we are surprised to find open fifths so frequently used at the close of a cadence, and even in the last note of the tune. Though permissible in the course of a phrase, their appearance in a cadence, without the third of the root, is certainly objectionable. The second part writing rarely has any melodic interest, and thereby loses much of its usefulness for class singing. M. N. M.

Musical Instruments. Part II. English and Irish Instruments, by R. B. Armstrong. Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable. *Price £2 net.*

The second part of Mr. Armstrong's great work on Musical Instruments has been issued. The first part is well known to students of Celtic music as the most complete and elaborate modern study of the Irish and Highland Harps, a sumptuous and magnificent volume which was received with general approval five years ago. This volume follows up the development of stringed instruments of the Harp family down to the beginning of last century. The author deals in minutest detail with the construction and musical capabilities of various obsolete instruments such as the Dital Harp, Egan's Harp, and the Harp Ventura. The appeal of the work is mainly to the musical Antiquarian and not directly to the student of Celtic music, except in so far as it shows how ancient Irish music had to surrender to modern tonality by the introduction of modulating keys for the full chromatic scale. It is most interesting to trace this development, through various forms of ingenious and complicated mechanism applied to the small harp, until we reach the final stage of the modern Pedal Harp. The present volume is got up in excellent style by Messrs. Constable. The plates that illustrate the text are exquisitely beautiful. We have not seen finer examples of modern photographic art reproduction. The pictures are soft yet minutely detailed without any of the hardness and excessive contrast often seen in photographs of such difficult subjects as old instruments. The book owes much to the fine technical skill of the artistic craftsman, as well as to the research, learning, and thorough mastery of detail of the author.

Only a specialist can adequately review the mass of detail contained in this book ; we can only say that the author wins the reader's confidence by the clearness of his style and the convincing character of his exposition of intricate technical details. Any one who is fortunate enough to possess one of the old instruments described in the text will find everything he needs to know here regarding stringing the instrument, scales, manipulation, and the possibilities and limitations of the various types. To some the study of ancient musical instruments has a peculiar and fascinating charm. Long years ago these instruments expressed in sweet music the language of human passion and old romance, though the fingers that touched the strings are now mouldering in the dust. Mr. Armstrong gives numerous specimens of music written for these old instruments. For a long time to come this will be the standard work on the subject. M. N. M.

Songs of the Hebrides. By Marjory Kennedy Fraser : Gaelic Editor, Kenneth M'Leod.

Messrs. Boosey and Co., London, now publish the above work in complete form, bound in one handsome volume, at the price of one guinea. We have in a former number of the *Celtic Review* referred to the very high quality of Mrs. Kennedy Fraser's work when reviewing several copies of the songs issued in separate parts. The volume as a whole more than confirms our

earlier impressions. It is a most valuable interpretation not only of Celtic music but of the true inwardness of the life and manner of thought and feeling of the people of the Isles. All Highlanders, and particularly all Islanders, who use this work will feel that they owe a debt of gratitude to the Editors for the technical skill, musical and literary talent, and loving enthusiasm they have put into their work. The result of their toil is a treat of a high order to all who have an interest in Celtic music and the Celtic people. Not since Dr. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* appeared has there issued from the press such a sympathetic and intelligent interpretation of the folk-lore and music of the ancient kingdom of the Hebrides.

Mrs. Kennedy Fraser writes an Introduction describing in charming English her interesting experiences in the work of collecting airs. Her Essay on the Hebridean scales is full of illuminating suggestion and pregnant thought,—the work of a true musician. Its value educationally is enhanced by the fact that it illustrates itself by reference to the songs in the book. These are classified according to scale. She suggests that the Pentatonic scales of the Scots folk-tonality, nowhere else found except in the Far East, may have come to Scotland through the Finnish or Mongolian mound-dwellers. Lowland music assimilated these from the Highland, the more ancient art culture. She has discovered in the Islands irregular time rhythms never pointed out before so far as we know, as in the remarkable version of *I hu o leiginn* (Killin Collection) entitled *Milking Croon* and set in $\frac{7}{4}$ time. It is a striking fact that Finnish music is also partial to irregular rhythms with five beats to the bar. Mrs. Kennedy Fraser also gives a most curious waulking song which balances fives with threes (p. 161), *i.e.* $\frac{5}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ time in alternate bars. She truly remarks on the perfect feeling for rhythm in the Western Isles that comes apparently from a life-long association of music and labour.

Regarding the existence of scales whose tone intervals vary from the diatonic, her conclusion is that as sung by the people these scales 'differ slightly from anything we can convey by any system of notation as yet in use.' Thus some sacrifice of character is unavoidable when we note them down in the usual way. But she thinks that a suitable accompaniment can to some extent compensate for this loss by emphasising characteristic features, even though it is true, as Abdy Williams has said, that 'to add harmony to an ancient melody is practically to produce a modern composition on an ancient foundation.'

The accompaniments in the book are of great originality, beauty, and fitness. The work as a whole will do more to give Celtic folk-song an assured position in the art world than any that have yet appeared.

The work of the Gaelic editor calls for more than a passing word of commendation. A collector himself, he has given freely of his store of molodies and has also fitted original verses of excellent quality to several songs when the original words obtainable were merely 'mutilated fragments.' His prose articles scattered throughout the book illuminate and ex-

plain the songs and the conditions among which they arose. They show a fine mastery of the English tongue, and reveal a new and brilliant writer on Celtic themes from whom much may yet be expected. Mr. M'Leod's first article in the *Celtic Review* some time ago on the subject of sea-songs strongly attracted our attention. A new and individual note was struck; here was a man with a voice of his own and no echo of others. Mr. M'Leod is a writer who possesses the magic of style. All he writes passes through fires of a living personality and is transfused with a passionate love for the dear people of the isles whose inner life he knows so well. He has many of the qualities that gave charm to the writings of the late Fiona M'Leod. He possesses the same wonderful insight into the psychology of the primitive mind, and if there is 'gloom' sometimes, it is real human sorrow and no melodramatic affair—the sorrow of the mourners who wait at home for those that sailed away on the sea but now return no more. His essay on the 'Sea Sorrow' is a very fine piece of work.

What songs are these! Songs of sorrow, and of rapture too, songs of the sea and of the soil, of birth and of death and of love. Contrast them with the modern drawing-room song, the only song that sells nowadays. There is little or no poetry in their words, any sort of piffle will do if it suits the music. Literary hacks provide them *ad lib.* for the musical composer. But the songs of the Hebrides—they enshrine history and are full of imagination and real human passion. If they are not poetry, we do not know where poetry is to be found.

Miss Fanny Tolmie has contributed several fine airs to the collection. There is a wonderful funeral chant entitled *An Cronan Bais*, given by Mr. K. M'Leod, containing an air that some have been hunting for vainly for a long time. In Lewis the same words (probably of pre-Reformation origin) were sung long ago to the tune '*The Campbells are coming*' in slow time.

Ailean Donn is a notable song full of the most poignant feeling, 'a beautiful song—sore to sing but seven times sorer to feel,' says Mr. M'Leod. The whole romantic story of the song may be found in Fionn's *Naigheachdan Firinnech*, Part II. p. 29. We trust that Mod singers, and, perhaps, Irish singers also, may take up and popularise many of these songs in their native Gaelic. The separate parts we believe are still available. Mrs. Kennedy Fraser, with great fitness, dedicates the work to the women of the Hebrides, 'who were not only skilled in the spinning and weaving of fine linen and in the curious arts of the dyer but who sang at their work, and, singing, fashioned for themselves songs that are as rich in colour as the wools they steeped in lichen and heather, and as curious in construction as the tartans they designed, and subtle too at times as the interlacements of Celtic illuminative art.'

Well do the women of the Isles deserve such an appreciation. In all probability the majority of the songs in this book were made by women. But more than singers they are toilers, very often the chief support of the poor homes in which they live, but always simple-hearted, kindly, and singing toilers. At home their work is chiefly spinning, weaving, cultivating the

croft, and ordinary domestic work. But now many of them cross the sea in thousands and take places as domestic servants in the South, winning respect and regard for themselves and the Highlands from which they come in many Lowland homes. They are a greater influence than we imagine in bringing North and South together in terms of mutual understanding and appreciation. Seldom do these girls forget to send part of their earnings to the support of the old home in far-away Uist or Lewis. Or it may be that some prefer the short but remunerative period of toil at herring curing to absence from home during the whole year. In hundreds at a time they migrate to Yarmouth or Grimsby or Peterhead as herring girls, sober and industrious always, cheerfully toiling at the most disagreeable of trades, that they may bring home their wages to help their parents, and at times even their brothers, to support existence in the poor boggy crofts at home. Some of them bring home more money to the croft than the men-folk can earn in cash during the whole year. We remember on one occasion seeing five hundred of these Hebridean women crowd on board the Stornoway steamer on their way to the fishing-stations. They were so closely packed and crowded on deck that one could hardly move without stepping over their bodies. There was no shelter of any kind to protect them from rain or cold. Fortunately for themselves they were inured to exposure. Uncomplainingly they sat or reclined on the decks singing Gaelic airs at intervals, while sometimes an old Psalm tune such as *Stornoway* rose clear and high on the night air. 'What a shame it is that these girls are not better treated!' said one to your reviewer. 'They are the mainstay of the Island.' M. N. MUNRO.

An Introduction to Early Welsh. By the late JOHN STRACHAN, LL.D., Professor of Greek and Lecturer in Celtic in the University of Manchester. Manchester: At the University Press, 1909.

The science of language, and that of the Celtic languages in particular, suffered a very severe blow through the passing away of the late Professor Strachan, for he combined a capacity for the most unremitting and laborious industry with a broad survey of the development of the Indo-European languages generally, and the power of presenting the knowledge which he gained in a highly systematic and lucid form. The present volume bears throughout the impress of his mind and character. Welshmen everywhere, both in Wales and outside Wales, will rejoice that the Welsh tongue should have been so lovingly studied by one of the most brilliant of modern philologists, and it is not improbable that the present work, if a knowledge of it reaches their ears, will have a good moral effect upon those misguided Welshmen who ever tend to depreciate their native tongue and its literature. It is a thousand pities that Professor Strachan did not live to write a grammar, not of mediæval Welsh only, but of the noble living tongue of to-day, which is far richer in the hands of a master than even the copious language of Wales in the Middle Ages. Nothing has helped the Celtic languages so much in modern times in the eyes of the

reading public, both in Wales and without, as the fact that they are sometimes studied by hard-headed Scotsmen and Germans, and it is not impossible that Welshmen may yet see the day when Welsh philology will be as respectable in the eyes of the world as Welsh geology. In the case of Professor Strachan Welsh was learnt late in life, but he already possessed a singularly minute knowledge of the older phases of Irish. He was thus able to learn quickly those Welsh words and forms which have Irish cognates, and also to see parallelisms in construction in the important field of Celtic syntax. Into the framework already constructed for him through his knowledge of Irish he fitted the facts of Welsh mediæval grammar, as they came into the field of his observation, and thus, through systematic reading and investigation, he was able to make his own version of Welsh mediæval grammar available for others. The result is a volume which gives a most useful and lucid account of the Welsh of the Middle Ages, and which, moreover, allows the reader a glimpse of the principles that have governed its development. As a record of forms this grammar is, within the range of Welsh literature studied by its author for the purpose, singularly complete. It is the grouping together, without making the necessary distinction between them, of normal and abnormal forms that is its least satisfactory feature, but, had the author lived to issue a second edition, it is not unlikely that in the light of his wider reading he would have remedied this defect. Another direction, too, in which Welsh mediæval grammar might be advanced beyond the present work is that of inquiring into the differences between the Welsh of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century as shown in the various documents, both prose and verse, which have come down to us, and carefully tabulating the facts for each stage. An important subdivision would be the study of Welsh orthography in its various phases and scribal traditions during the same period. The thirteenth century MSS. of Geoffrey's *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, for example, are especially deserving of careful study in this connection, as they contain forms which have not yet been included in any treatise on Welsh mediæval grammar. It is to be hoped that the work now in question will be a stimulus to Welshmen and others to pursue the scientific study of the Welsh tongue, a language which is no mere *patois* or barbarous jargon, but which has been moulded by all those forces of mind and taste, that have shaped all the nobler forms of human speech. Wales will long bear in grateful remembrance the work of one who, though a stranger, was second to none of her sons in his love for her ancient tongue. E. ANWYL.

Welsh Mediæval Law, being a text of the Laws of Howel the Good, namely, the British Harleian MS. 4353 of the thirteenth century, with translation, introduction, appendix, glossary, index and a map. By A. W. WADE-EVANS, Jesus College [Oxford]. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909.

In publishing the present volume of *Welsh Mediæval Law*, the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans has rendered very real service, not only to students of early Welsh institutions, but also to students of Welsh language and

literature. The prose writings of Wales in the thirteenth century, as they are almost entirely in MS., are known but imperfectly, and the full history of the Welsh language itself cannot be written until they are carefully investigated. It is chiefly, however, by students of Welsh law and social institutions that the service now rendered by Mr. Wade-Evans will be welcomed, since he has given a faithful copy of the text of one of the earliest MSS. of the laws of Wales, and also a very careful and readable translation thereof. The introductory classification of the legal MSS. of Wales will also be of great service, and similarly the Appendix explaining the general relation of the four earliest texts. The Glossary, too, will be found very helpful by all students of early Welsh social life, and there is also a very full Index. The leaves that are missing in Harleian MS. 4353 have been supplied from the British Museum MS. Cleopatra A. XIV., which Mr. Wade-Evans regards as the most allied MS. extant of the same class. There is also an historical introduction, whose aim is to present a picture of post-Roman Britain, presumably in order to explain the formation of that social organisation of Wales which is represented in the Laws. This is an extremely obscure subject, and it is impossible to deal with it within the limits of this review. Mr. Wade-Evans rightly holds that the 'men of the North' spoke British, but it cannot be assumed that 'gwlad,' in the term 'gwledig,' necessarily refers to territory. The Welsh word 'gwlad' has for its Goidelic cognate the Irish flaith, *rule*, and in the Welsh word 'gwledychu' we have a word meaning 'to rule' without any suggestion necessarily of rule over a territory. It is not at all certain that the term 'gwledig' meant the holder of an office that was once Roman, though this is certainly not impossible. The whole subject of the relation of Wales to Roman rule is one that is now acquiring fresh interest through the excavation of Roman sites in Wales. The recent discoveries at Gelligaer in Glamorganshire, at Llidiart Ysbytty near Portmadoc in Carnarvonshire, at Caersws in Montgomeryshire (by Professor R. C. Bosanquet), and at Caerleon are gradually opening up a new vista of Welsh life in Roman times, especially in relation to the lead and copper mining of the country. There are other Roman sites, too, of considerable interest, which have either been excavated, or are likely to be excavated, in the near future. The study of the Latin element in Welsh (on the lines of the admirable work of M. Loth) both in the ordinary vocabulary of the language and in proper names, and the similar study of the Latin element in Irish (on the foundation of M. Vendryes's brilliant work), ought, if systematically carried out, to prove of the greatest service in the study of this subject. In this connection also it is well to note the importance of the forms taken by the earliest stratum of Biblical proper names in Welsh such as Adda, Afel, Yfream, Iago, etc., in their bearing on the question of the date of the introduction of Christianity into Britain. Mr. Wade-Evans is probably right in his avoidance of the term 'tribe' in connection with the Welsh social system, in spite of the undoubtedly tribal character in its origin of the social order of the Celts,

because in Wales the earlier clan-system probably underwent, in certain districts at any rate, very considerable modifications in Roman and post-Roman times, and, in the present state of our knowledge, it is far from safe to dogmatise concerning it. It is not improbable, too, that the Welsh genealogies contain evidence of great value for those who have the necessary knowledge and skill to extract it. Careful local investigation, also, in some of the districts of Wales that are remotest from England, such as Lleyn in Carnarvonshire, will, even now, reveal traces of the older system of land-tenure, as it existed in the period when the laws of Wales were dominant. Such terms as cyfar (*joint ploughing*) found in the Laws themselves, are significant as to the prevalence of 'co-tillage' in earliest times. Side by side with the present volume it would be well to read Professor Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor*, and the late Fustel de Coulanges's work on Roman and Post-Roman Gaul. A careful study of the Welsh Laws themselves, too, suggests that a very considerable amount of the matter in them goes back to pre-Christian times, and reflects a tone of society, whose Christianisation was institutional rather than psychological. The survival in mediæval legend of such ideas as that of 'annwfn' (*the underworld*), as well as certain social features, which come to view, for example, in 'Kulhwch and Olwen,' points in the same direction, and so, from the ethnological no less than the sociological standpoint, the Welsh Laws may be studied with advantage. It may, perhaps, be mentioned that among the terms used in Welsh Law are two that are of English origin, namely, 'distain' (=disc thegn), *a steward*, and 'edling' (=etheling), *the heir-apparent*, while in Wales, as in England, terms derived from personal names denoting tracts of country often ended in *-ing*, as Dunoding (the district of Dunod), a district in South Carnarvonshire and North Merionethshire. In the matter of language the texts now under consideration contain several grammatical forms of interest, and appear to belong to the same orthographical tradition as the Red Book of Hergest, but at an earlier stage. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wade-Evans will receive the encouragement which he deserves, and that he will publish in similar form others of the ancient documents of Wales.

E. Anwyl.

NOTE

The Barons of Bachuill

Having read with great interest the article (*Celtic Review*, vol. v.) by Dr. Alexander Carmichael on the 'Barons of Bachuill,' in the Isle of Lismore, the writer offers the following observations upon it, and for the reasons given below he thinks it impossible that the Livingstones in any manner descended from the Beatons, who were the hereditary leeches or physicians to the Lords of the Isles, which position they undoubtedly occupied during a long number of ages.

If Dr. Carmichael will refer to the *Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 129, he will find a curious bond of manrent, by the terms of which Sir John Campbell

of Cawdor received the fealty and homage of the clan M'Donleavis (wrongly written M'Dowleanis). It is dated 16 August 1518, and it is stated that the oaths were taken upon 'Mess buik' (missal), and the relic callit *Arwachyll* (this was the *bachuill* of S. Moluag) 'at the Isle of Kilmolrue.'

Until a writer, Rev. Arch. B. Scott, in the *Scottish Historical Review* for April 1909, p. 264, in the course of an article of high merit on the famous S. Maelrubha, drew attention to the subject, and identified the site of this small island, I had never been able to decide where it lay. It is the island of Eilean-an-t-sagairt in the Lochanan Dubh, near the modern farmhouse of Kilvarie, next the large possessions in Muckairn of the Campbells of Calder, Kilvarie being of course a dedication to the aforesaid S. Maelrubha. To this small island repaired the representatives of this clan M'Donleavis in order to sign the deed. The signatories are Duncan Brek M'dunlave on behalf of his kin, viz. Duncan M'du[n]lave M'donchy Iain m'donlave m'donche his brother, Donald dow m'douil m'conehe and Neyll his brother and Lachlan M'Ewin M'lachlen. The other signatory is a certain Ewin M'Neill on behalf of his kin, viz. Dunslave M'Neill, Iain dow M'Neyll, Duncan M'Neyll roy, Niall his brother. All these M'Neills seem to be related to the M'Dunslaves; *vide* the use of Dunslave as a Christian name by one of them.

Now whilst Livingstone is *said* to be the English form of Mac-an-leigh, son of the physician, the name Mac-an-leigh appears itself to be merely a corruption of the name M'Dunsleibhe. For in the vassals and tenants names in the old Argyll Rentals there is evidence of not only the D but also the S dropping out by euphonistic elision, the name becoming M'onlave and M'Dunlave and M'inlay, etc. In one document I have found the name 'Dunslave M'Dunslave,' clearly showing that the origin of the surname lay in a Christian name. The clan name being thus derived from it and having nothing to do with any physician.

Of the use of the name Dunsleibhe, etc., in various forms, *both as a Christian and a surname*, I append a few examples, and would like to point out that it is quite possible that the eponymic progenitor of all the M'Dunslaves, Livingstones, etc., *may* be the one who is known to have been the common ancestor of the Lamonts, the M'Ewens, the M'Lachlans, and the M'Sweens, which latter clan are identical with the supposed lost clan of M'Ewan of Otter, a fact wholly unnoticed in a brief monograph on the Clan Ewen which appeared four or five years ago.

James the son of Dunslaphe had a grant of many lands in Kintyre from Robert the Bruce (Robertson's *Index*, p. 26, No. 15).

On 1 March 1628 Arthur Dunslea 'in Inverary' was warned to flit and remove by Archibald, Lord Lorne (Argyll MSS.).

Circa 1640. Dounslaife odiman held 6s. 8d. worth of the one markland of Glenmoull in South Kintyre (*Argyll Rentals*).

28 Aug. 1693. Dunslea M'Queny in Eollasarie in Isle of Ulva is named in a Baron Court held by Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass at Aros as Bailie for Archibald, 10th Earl of Argyll (MSS.).

In 1557 John M'Dunslaif in Auchnacre appears on record in the Taymouth '*Register*,' and the writer in *Origines Parochiales* notes that it appears 'to be a rare surname.'

Lastly, on 28 April 1511 a sasine was given to Sir Donald Makfadzen, precentor of Lismoir Cathedral, of the lands of 'Killendryst' in that island by a certain Gilbert rewich 'signifer' (the swarthy or brindled standard-bearer), who acted as deputy for Archibald 2nd Earl of Argyll, so clearly he was the Livingstone or M'Duinslebhe of the period, and was in all probability the brother of the Iver who appears as grandfather of 'Iain son of Maelmore son of Iver,' to whom the 1544 charter of the custody of the Great Bachuill of S. Moluag was re-granted by Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll.

Now the Barons of Bachuill may in recent years have had some tradition that their predecessors exercised medical powers, but if so I would contend that it was not the leechcraft such as the Beatons exercised for the Lords of the Isles, or the O'conochers of Ardeoran (in Lorne) for the MacDougalls of Dunolly and the Campbells of Lochow. But

1. That their chief occupation appears to have been that of signifer or standard-bearer to the Earls of Argyll and their predecessors.
2. That with this privilege went the yet more ancient one of keeping and guarding the pastoral staff, which originally was in all likelihood itself carried into battle as a holy charm against defeat. (Compare the accounts of the Battle of the Standard and the frequency with which relics were used for this purpose in the Irish Annals.)
3. That any existing tradition about the exercise of medical powers might be due to a late and corrupt rendering of their surname into Gaelic, and to a further corruption by its English translation into Livingstone.
4. Or else to the fact that the Bachuill was itself carried about as a curative relic by its hereditary keepers, who, in performing cures with it, would naturally receive some small fee from sick people, who were at that time blissfully ignorant of how to best poison themselves by 'patent medicines.'

An old transcript of the 1544 charter was found at Inveraray at Easter 1909 by the writer, and he notices one or two small mistakes in the Latin as given to Mr. Carmichael. Amongst the witnesses, for instance, the M'Dougall chiefs should be John M'Coul of Dunolly and John M'Coul of Raray, *not Baray*; the latter were a very ancient branch from Dunolly, and the second of the land names should be Peynachallan, which probably means Colins's Penny Land.

An examination of the Lismore Parish Registers might show how recently the name Dunsleve or Dunslaif was in use in the Livingstone or other families. In Ireland a similarly named clan have long Anglicised their name to Donlevy.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

JANUARY 15, 1910

ACCENTS, APOSTROPHES, AND HYPHENS IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

THE Gaelic printed page, with its array of Accents, Apostrophes, and Hyphens, may appear picturesque to the eye in comparison with the balder English page, but it is a matter of almost insuperable difficulty for author and printer alike to present it to the reader in perfectly accurate form. These artificial marks, in Gaelic as in other languages, are, it need hardly be observed, meant for the guidance of the reader. Gaelic-speaking readers will always have a greater need for aids of this kind than most, and especially than English readers. We speak to a large extent in phrases, and as long as we continue to do so, there will be a clashing and crushing of sounds which cannot be altogether disregarded by us in writing even the baldest prose. In expressing our ideas clearly in print, we shall probably always be more or less dependent upon such advantage as devices of this sort can provide for us. But we must not forget that the purpose of these signs is to aid the reader, to enable him to understand more clearly the meaning of the writer. If they fail of their purpose they are not merely useless, they are hurtful. While it may be vain to expect that we can ever do away entirely with our Accents, Apostrophes, and Hyphens any more than with our Commas and Periods, it is worth while, perhaps, inquiring whether on the lines of the mode of writing Gaelic aimed at in the best edited

texts, such, *e.g.*, as the Gaelic Scriptures, we could, without prejudice to their value as guides, reduce their number on the printed page. And first as to the Accents.

I. *The Accent.*—The Accent, in Gaelic usage, is a mark to indicate the length of a vowel. It would have been in many ways better if we had one mark to indicate quantity and another to indicate stress. As things are, in writing Scottish Gaelic, we make use of two accents, the Grave (`) and the Acute (´), as they are called. The Acute Accent is used but sparingly. It is frequently placed over the Preposition *a*, to distinguish, presumably, the open sound of the vowel. *Fhuair mi litir á Lunnainn*, 'I had a letter from London.' Occasionally, but in ignorance, when the same preposition is written in full, *as*, the accent is still put upon the *a*.

Apart from this individual case, which might without great loss be dispensed with, the use of the Acute Accent in Scottish Gaelic is restricted to marking one of the sounds of *e* and *o*. As all readers know, these two Vowels in Scottish Gaelic represent each two separate sounds, not merely long and short, but what we call open and close sounds: *è*, 'he,' but (an) *dé*, 'yesterday'; *òr*, 'gold,' but *mór*, 'great.' In actual practice, we have been fairly uniform and correct in indicating the long *e*'s by the appropriate accent. The case has been different with respect to the *ò*'s, although the difference of its sounds is in quality as marked as in *e*. Historically the close *o* has come to be marked by the Acute Accent only recently, and by no means uniformly. The reason probably is that in the case of *e* the two sounds are fairly consistent over the whole Gaelic-speaking area, while no such uniformity can be claimed for *o*. Such a common word as *oran*, 'song,' is sounded *óran* in one locality and *òran* in another. It may be added that the best and most careful Gaelic poets find no difficulty in making the two sounds of *e*, as also those of *o*, rhyme together, their justification being that, to the Gaelic ear, harmony of sound, not necessarily identity, constitutes rhyme. In the case of the other

vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, the Grave Accent alone is used to mark quantity.

Three questions may be asked with respect to the use of the Accent. The first is, Should we not get rid of it altogether, as the English have done ? This would, no doubt, be the simplest solution. It would put an end at once to all our difficulties and blunders in connection with the use of it. But few among us, I imagine, would vote for the total abolition of the Accent in writing Gaelic. If we had never had it, we would not miss it. But as things are it has been of advantage, especially to the young reader, as a guide ; and the Gael has ever been conservative of old ways, and not the less so in his literary traditions.

Assuming that the Accent is to be retained by us, we might well revert to the rule of the old scholars, and place it upon all long vowels. It is true the old writers never rigidly adhered to their own rule ; but the fact ought not to prevent us from making the attempt. We have advantages which they had not. They wrote, while we print. The careful reading of a proof ought to enable us to adhere very closely to so simple a rule. It is true that the Phoneticians point out to us that vowels are not always of equal length, but the obvious fact need not alarm us. Even the shortest of long syllables is a long way removed from the short syllable proper ; and in any event the doubtful cases could be codified. Such difficulties as would confront us arise mainly from two causes. One of these is due to the influence which the shifting of the stress in compound words exerts upon the quantity of a vowel. It has already been pointed out how the dissyllable *màthair*, ' mother,' with the first syllable long, becomes a monosyllable, and short at that, when joined with *céile*, ' companion, spouse,' not *màthair-chéile* but *măir-chéile*. So occasionally with the prefixes. The negative prefix *neo-*, as we now write it, is short, as long as the stress remains on the leading word : *neo-shalach*, ' undirty,' *i.e.* ' clean, pure.' But if the stress be shifted to the prefix the syllable is sometimes lengthened :

neo-ghlan, 'unclean,' becomes *neòghlan*. So the short intensive prefix *ro-* becomes *rò-* in MacMhaighstir Alastair's *rò-choill*, 'large' or 'dense wood.' But only sometimes. In *neo-dhuine*, 'a simpleton,' *neoini*, 'nothing,' although the stress shifts to the prefix, the syllable remains short. The other difficulty arises from the diverse ways in which we pronounce many dipthongs in the several localities. We have, for many years now, ceased to write *e* immediately followed by a consonant. We insert one or other of the vowels after the *e*—*fer*, 'man,' has become *fear*, and *fèr*, 'grass,' *feur*, thus creating a large number of improper diphthongs. The combination *eu* is always long, and presents no accentual difficulty. But the combination *ea* is not always short. Such words as *fèrr*, 'better'; *cèrr*, 'wrong,' 'left'; *cèrd*, 'artificer,' now 'tinker,' we write *fearr*, *cearr*, *ceard*. Not only so, but many among us pronounce these and such words with the voice resting not upon the *e* but upon the *a*, as if written *fyarr*, *cyarr*, *cyard*, and they are not infrequently written with the accent mark upon the *a*: *feàrr*, *ceàrr*, *ceàrd* for *fèarr*, *cèarr*, *cèard*. In another set of cases, the opposite process takes place. Such improper diphthongs as *ceòl*, *leòn*, *seòl*, *cliù*, *iùl*, with many others, are in several districts, by a process of singling, turned into proper diphthongs, with both vowels short—*ce-ol*, *le-on*, *se-ol*, *cli-u*, *i-ul*. These, and they could be indefinitely increased, are real difficulties which could be effectually got rid of in writing only by doing away with the Accent altogether.

The third way of dealing with the Accent would be to restrict the use of it to ambiguous words, that is, the class of words whose sound and orthography differ only in the length of the vowel: *bǎs*, 'palm,' *bàs*, 'death,' and the like. This would be but a very partial solution of the problem. It would throw upon the reader the burden of learning, without aid from print, the quantity of all syllables except the relatively small number spoken of as ambiguous. But it is practical; and it would at any rate be a great improve-

ment upon the present practice, which depends mainly upon the caprice of the individual writer. One would think that the sagacious Stewart favoured this view when he wrote in his *Grammar* (p. 3): 'A long vowel is often marked with an accent, especially when the *quantity* of the vowel determines the meaning of the words; as "bàs," *death*; 'sàil,' *the heel*; "càraid," *a pair*; "rìs," *again*; "mò," *more*; 'lòn,' *a marsh*, which are distinguished by the accent alone from "bas," the *palm* of the hand; "sail," *a beam*; 'caraid,' *a friend*; "ris," *to*; "mo," *my*; "lon," *the elk*.'

II. *The Apostrophe.*—The Apostrophe is used to represent a temporarily dropped sound. We shall always have a number of these in Gaelic owing to our habit of running two or more words into one continuous sound, thus necessarily causing frequent contractions and elisions. But we have, as it seems to me, unnecessarily increased the number, especially in writing plain prose. In verse it becomes a necessity to suppress a sound frequently—one must preserve the proper number of syllables in the line. Conversation will also insist on having its privileges, not merely in shorthand articulation but in slipshod diction as well. But we have allowed the colloquial to preponderate in our writing; and as a consequence the Apostrophe runs riot on a Gaelic page. Why should we persist in writing *'Se* for *Is e*, 'it is'? Everybody says, but why should any one write, *Co 'th' ann*? for *Co a tha ann*? 'Who is there'? Our fathers and grandfathers were in these respects more careful and accurate than we have become.

For one thing, it must be remembered that effect is to be given in speech or writing to the suppressing of sound only within the limits of the phrase or speech-unit. In the directions to the reader prefixed to early editions of the Scriptures, we are told that certain words like *Tighearna*, 'Lord,' and *aite*, 'place,' may be written with or without the final vowels. If the idea was that the vowel might be dropped when the following word in the phrase commenced with a vowel of similar sound: *dìt aluinn*, *e.g.* 'a beautiful

place,' all that can be said is that the learned editors failed to carry it out. The form *Tighearn* frequently ends a period, while the combination Tighearn*a* *I*osa Criosd is common. In Ephes. vi. 1 occurs the following: A chlann, bithibh umhal do 'ur pàrantaibh féin san Tighearn: oir ata so ceart. Surely the final *a* of *Tighearna* was not dropped in this case because the next word (across the colon) began with the vowel *o*! The Article is always a member of a speech-unit, and is responsible for many of our Apostrophes. Its permanent form in the Singular is *an*, but oftener than not it appears as *a'* or *'n*. In its case, I fear, we must be content to let ill alone. It would savour of pedantry to write *do an tigh*, and in the particular case the phrase would be ambiguous. So we write *do'n tigh*, 'to the house,' and *d' an tigh*, 'to their house,' in accordance with sound and sense. So also we write *a' bhean*, 'the woman,' although here the Irish, who pronounce as we do, write *an bhean*. We cannot revert to the full form of the article in this and similar cases; we can only regret that we ever discarded it.

But, further, our Gaelic writers have extended the function of the Apostrophe beyond its legitimate sphere—they use it not merely to represent a suppressed letter but also a suppressed word. What would one say to an English author who would write, 'The man 'I met to-day,' using the Apostrophe to represent the suppressed 'whom'? But to write *'An tigh m' athar*, 'in my father's house,' as some do, and as James Munro would insist upon all doing, is equally absurd, and wrong in addition. The Gaelic Preposition was in early days written *in*, as in Latin and English. Later we wrote it, in Scotland, *an*, and we fell into the habit of doubling it, writing *ann an*. It was under the erroneous idea that the double form was the original, of which the single form was but a contraction, partly also, perhaps, to prevent the possibility of the Preposition being mistaken for the Article, that Gaelic authors called in the Apostrophe in this case. But here there could be no ambiguity, and thus the form is wrong as well as meaningless.

It is only when possible ambiguity emerges that the use of the Apostrophe to represent a suppressed word is justifiable. Nearly all the relevant cases connect with the very small word *a*, which in Gaelic develops from a number of sources and performs a variety of functions. But ambiguity hardly ever arises by leaving the suppression of the word unmarked. Let us examine a few of the more doubtful cases.

A in Gaelic attaches to a Noun when put in the Vocative Case, and causes the aspiration of the consonant. Before vowels, it is suppressed, and the suppression is usually marked by an Apostrophe. But there can be no ambiguity, and the Apostrophe is unnecessary: *An tu tha sin, Iain* ? 'Is that you, John ?' The question is as clear in Gaelic as in English.

Again *a* stands for the Preposition *an* in such phrases as *a mach*, 'out'; *a muigh*, 'outside.' When preceded by a vowel sound the *a* is frequently dropped and replaced by the Apostrophe: *chaidh e 'mach*, 'He went out'; *tha e 'muigh*, 'He is outside.' Here again there is no possible mistaking of the meaning. If there were the proper remedy would be to write in full: *Tha e a muigh*. If the *a* is dropped, no representative is needed.

A, the so-called Relative. This word which we treat as a Relative, and which we have come to speak of as a Relative, is in origin not a Relative at all, but the Tense-particle *do* which appears in full in the Negative and Interrogative Moods of the Past Tense of the Verb, although usually suppressed in Scottish Gaelic in the Affirmative Mood. Thus: Cha *do* thog mi e, 'I did not lift it'; An *do* thog thu e ? 'Did you lift it' ? but (Do) thog mi e, 'I lifted it.' The fact is, we have not had, since Gaelic was written, the Simple Relative in the Nominative Case. In the oblique cases, notably in prepositional phrases, we had it and have it still. In form, it was and is the same as the Article, and indeed is the Article used relatively, as we find it in Homeric Greek: Am fear d' *an* toir mi an leabhar, 'The man to whom

I will give the book' ; An t-aite gus *an* teid e, 'The place to which he will go.' In these and such phrases the *an* is a genuine Relative, and its form is that of the Article, with its initial *s* clinging still to certain Prepositions of original consonantal auslant (*a, ann, gu, le, ri*), as above in 'gu*s an* teid mi.' But the Relative in the Nominative has not been found. Nor was there a felt need for it. In the old language, when the Verb retained its full flexion, there was a special form for relative clauses. Thus while *is* was, then as now, the form of the third person Singular of the Substantive Verb, *as* was the corresponding relative form, which we ought to revive in order to replace the erroneous *a's* of to-day ; *beres* was the relative form alongside of *berid*, the third singular of *berimm*, now *beirim*, 'I bear,' 'carry,' and so forth. The form in *s* is the only relative form surviving now, and is no doubt in origin the *s* of (*s*)*e*, 'he' in Gaelic, and of *she* in English. So 'am fear *a* bhuaileas' is properly for 'am fear *do* bhuaileas,' 'The man who strikes,' or 'will strike.' This *a*, as we use it, stands for all the purposes of the Relative which we have not, but which we need, now that the old relative forms of the Verb have disappeared. We are therefore justified in using it as a Relative and even speaking of it as such. We often suppress it when a vowel sound precedes it, or suppress the vowel sound, marking the suppression in either case by an Apostrophe. We write indifferently *Is mise 'fhuair e* and *Is mis' a fhuair e*, 'It is I who found it.' But there is no possible risk of mistaking the meaning, and we ought to write simply *Is mise fhuair e.*

A for the Prepositions *do* and *de*. The substitution of *a* for *do* or *de*, due to the desire for ease of utterance, is very common, but seldom does any confusion arise therefrom : *a ghnath* for *do ghnath*, 'always' ; *a rìs, a rithist*, written in the old language *doridisi*, 'again' ; *aon a mhuinntir a' bhaile*, 'One of the town's folk.' Sometimes there may be a doubt as to the Preposition which *a* stands for. Thus an unusually correct author, probably under the influence of local intonation, writes *air reir* for *a reir*, which is clearly for

do reir, 'to the will of,' *i.e.* 'according to': *An Soisgeul a* (= *do*) *reir Mhata*, 'The Gospel according to Matthew.' When the Preposition is followed by a vowel we frequently double it, aspirating the second form: *Thoir do Iain e*, 'Give it to John,' oftener than not appears as *Thoir do dh' Iain e* or *Thoir a dh' Iain e*. So *Aon a dh' ùbhlan Sheumais*, 'One of James's apples.' The Relative *a*, spoken of in the previous paragraph, doubles in the same way: *Am fear a dh' òlas*, 'The man who drinks'; *dol a dh' òl*, 'going to drink'—conclusive proof, were there no other, that the so-called Relative *a* is a brokendown *do*. Here again no possible ambiguity arises from the suppression of the *a* which would be removed by inserting an Apostrophe. *Fear de mhuinntir I*; *fear a mhuinntir I*; *duine mhuinntir I*, 'An Iona man': any of the forms expresses the meaning as well as the sound with equal clearness.

A, the Possessive Pronoun. The only other function of the ubiquitous *a* that need concern us here is that of the Possessive Pronoun. The same form is used for Masculine and Feminine, but the fact that the Masculine causes aspiration while the Feminine does not is sufficient to distinguish them. Sometimes uncertainty was felt by some of the older scholars as to whether in certain cases the *a* represented the Possessive Pronoun or the Article. The late Dr. Clerk, for example, used to write *a' leithid*, 'the like,' instead of *a leithid*, 'his' or 'her like,' maintaining that *a* stood for *an*. Now it is quite true that according to the rule of the nasal, *n* of the Article usually disappears before *l*, *r*, *s*, and *f*, but the scholarly clergyman in this case omitted to apply two simple tests, either of which was conclusive against him. Firstly, in *a leithid*, 'his like,' the slender *l* is aspirated, while in *a leithid*, 'her like,' it is not. Secondly, the plural of the Pronoun is *an*, that of the Article *na*. Now our idiom is invariably *an leithidean*, 'their like,' never *na leithidean*, 'the likes.'

Such a word as *athair* may mean 'a father,' 'his father,' or 'O father.' To write *'athair* excludes the first case 'a

father.' But a possible confusion between 'his father,' and 'O father' remains. How can we decide which is meant in a particular case? It will be found, I think, that the construction of the sentence removes, in all cases, any possibility of confusion between the Possessive Pronoun and the Vocative Case, whether we write the word with or without the Apostrophe. The very remote chance of an ambiguity which the insertion of the Apostrophe would remove lies not between these two, but between *athair*, 'a father,' and *athair* written without the Apostrophe when the meaning is 'his father.' But such cases are very rare. The use of *athair*, 'a father,' is not common. The word is almost always qualified, so that the ambiguity on this side is nearly always removed: *athair Dhaibhidh*, 'David's father,' and so forth. In the same way the ambiguity from the side of the Possessive Pronoun is reduced to a minimum by the construction of the sentence. In such combinations as *athair fein*, 'his own father'; *athair-san*, '*his* father,' as distinct from yours or mine, the Apostrophe is quite unnecessary. Again, in such a sentence as *fagaidh duine athair agus a mhathair*, 'a man will leave (his) father and his mother,' there can be no ambiguity, and the Apostrophe may safely be suppressed. Further the Possessive Pronoun itself, seeing that it causes aspiration, may, as a rule, when following a vowel, be silently suppressed: *Bha pharantan saoibhir*, 'His parents were wealthy.' But in some cases there might be doubt whether it was the Possessive Pronoun or the Article that was suppressed. *Bha bhean maiseach* is an ambiguous sentence. One must write, to remove the ambiguity: *Bha a bhean maiseach*, 'His wife was beautiful,' or *Bha a' bhean maiseach* 'The lady was beautiful.'

In these, and indeed in all cases, clearness is the first consideration, and where the insertion of an Apostrophe or other mark helps to remove possible uncertainty, let it be used freely. At the same time if we would agree to write as a rule single words with vocalic auslaut in full, and suppress silently where there was no possibility of ambiguity or

uncertainty, we would be able to reduce greatly our Apostrophes, and diminish the present irregularity in the use of them.

III. *The Hyphen.*—The Hyphen, in Gaelic as in English, is used mainly to join the members of a compound word, and frequently to attach the common Prefixes to the leading words. Thus: *àrd-shagairt*, 'high-priest'; *cu-chaorach*, 'sheep-dog'; *grad-thilg*, 'quickly throw'; *ana-cainnt*, 'evil speech.' When the stress is placed on the Prefix the Hyphen is frequently removed and the spelling is adjusted according to our Orthographical Rule. Thus: *an-neart*, 'power wrongfully used,' 'oppression,' becomes *ainneart*; *ban-tighearna*, 'woman-lord,' 'she-lord' (distinguished from *bean tighearna*, 'a lord's wife') becomes *baintighearna*; *mì-mhodhail*, 'unmannerly,' becomes *mìomhail*, 'rude,' impertinent.

We also in Gaelic suffix the particles of emphasis to the main concept as a rule by means of the Hyphen. There has been no strict rule laid down for our guidance, but the practice generally followed is to use the hyphen in appending the particle to Nouns, Adjectives, and Verbs: *Mo laogh-sa*, '*my* calf'; *mo laogh beag-sa*, '*my* little calf'; *dh' fhagainn-sa an sid e*, 'I, for my part, would leave him there.' In the case of the Prepositional Pronouns the suffix of emphasis is attached to them without the Hyphen, except when the Orthographical Rule requires its insertion: *dhasan*, 'to him, specially,' but *dhaibh-san*, 'to them, in particular.' *E-san*, 'he, emphatically,' is usually written *esan* in contravention of the Rule of *Leathann ri leathann is caol ri caol*, 'Broad (vowel) to broad, and small (vowel) to small.'

But the Hyphen is used in Gaelic in a special and, in some respects, a peculiar sense, to connect what the Grammarians used to call 'euphonic letters' to an adjacent word. The old scholars frequently wrote a speech-unit, as they sounded it, continuously as one word: *e.g. intathir*, now *an t-athair*, 'the father.' Their successors knew the meaning perfectly, but they could not understand the significance

of the *t*. It was now in, now out. The Nominative was *antathair*, but the Genitive was (*mac*)*an athar*, ' (The son) of the father.' They did not recognise the letter as an essential part of the Article, appearing in certain situations. They thought the *t* was inserted ' for the sake of euphony.' So they called it ' an euphonic letter,' and noticing that in this case the sound attached to the following rather than to the preceding word, they used the Hyphen to attach it to the word succeeding.

In addition to Masculine Nouns of initial vowel sound in the Nominative Singular, the *t* of the Article, as our Grammars inform us, attaches to Nouns beginning with *s* (followed by a vowel or liquid), in the case of Feminine Nouns, in the Nominative and Dative Singular, and in the case of Masculine Nouns, in the Genitive and Dative. *Samhradh* is a Masculine Noun, and so we have in the Dative the phrase *anns an t-samhradh*, ' in summer.' According to the rule of the Nasal *n* is apt to disappear, in the Unit, before *s* and *t*. Thus *anns an teach*, *anns an tigh*, ' into, in, the house,' have been crushed into the phrases *a steach* and *a stigh*. In the same way, in certain localities, *anns an t-samhradh* has become *as t-samhradh*. So far, no fault can be found. The phrase is in strict accordance with Gaelic phonetics. Whether it should be used in writing prose, except when illustrating dialect, in preference to the full form which is still largely in living use, is a very different matter. But localism has proceeded another step. By Analogy, or the law of fashion, *as t-earrach*, ' in spring,' and even *as t-fhoghar*,' ' in autumn,' have been framed upon the model of *as t-samhradh*. Here there is no phonetic justification whatsoever. It is a pure case of false Analogy. Who would ever say, much less write, *anns an t-athair*, *anns an t-earrach* ? And yet, some will not only write *as t-earrach*, but hold that the literary forms *anns an earrach*, *san earrach* are wrong !

Another of the so-called phonetic letters with which the Hyphen is connected is *h*, which performs in Gaelic such a

variety of functions as to give some point and pungency to M'Alpine's whimsical observation regarding it. 'This letter,' (*h*), says the author, in his well-known *Dictionary*, 'is not acknowledged in our Alphabet; but to keep the Gaelic in character with us, the Highlanders, who are THE BRAVEST and *most singular* people in the WHOLE WORLD (as the SCOTS TIMES says), it is used, not only in every word, but almost in every syllable expressed or understood.'

I have already attempted to explain that the *h-* in the Genitive Singular Feminine and in the Plural of the Article is an echo of *s* which time out of mind formed the terminal sound of that Part of Speech in these cases. In all other situations where *h* is used in Gaelic, apart from its use in marking aspiration, it also represents a lost sound. It is not inserted 'for the sake of euphony.' It remains as the last breath of vanishing sounds. Like the *t* of the Article it attaches in pronunciation to the following word, and accordingly our scholars, who could not account for its origin, attached it by a Hyphen to the succeeding word.

H appears after the Prepositions *a*, *gu*, *le*, *ri* when the Noun-object is of initial vowel sound. It is the ghost of the sound of the consonant in which these Prepositions ended in pre-historic times. Thus we write *a h-I*, 'out of Iona'; *gu h-Eoghan*, 'to Hugh'; *le h-eagal*, 'with fear'; *ri h-Abraham*, 'to Abraham.' It may be added that only the faintest echo of this sound is heard among the Gaelic-speaking people of the present generation, and the latest Revisers of the Gaelic Scriptures felt themselves justified in discarding the *h* in such cases. But, as is well known, the most common way of forming Adverbs among us is by prefixing one of these Prepositions (*gu*) to an Adjective. When the initial sound of the Adjective is vocalic the old *h* still stoutly asserts itself, and so we write *gu h-ard*, 'on high,' 'above'; *gu h-iosal*, 'below,' and so forth.

The only other so-called euphonic letter which we need to consider in connection with the Hyphen is the nasal (*n*). The Rule of the Nasal, as formulated by the Grammarians,

has been already given (*supra*, p. 6), and it was added that Scottish Gaelic gave only partial adherence to it. Perhaps it was, in part at least, owing to this that our Highland writers were less consistent in writing this letter than Irish authors. An original nasal ending stands firm before vowels in a speech-unit, and is pronounced with the following word in Scottish and Irish Gaelic alike. *Ar*, 'our,' *(bh)ur*, 'your,' have an original nasal auslaut, and in both languages we write *ar n-athair*, 'our father,' *(bh)ur n-athair*, 'your father,' in the same way. The Negative *cha* (in Irish Gaelic more commonly *ni*) and the Affirmative *gu* have also an original nasal ending, and here the Irish write consistently with the Hyphen *cha n-iarr*, *gu n-iarr*, whereas we write with an Apostrophe *cha'n iarr*, *gu'n iarr*, '(I) shall not ask,' 'that (I) shall ask.' Recently an attempt was made to use the Hyphen among us, but unfortunately it was placed before the *n* instead of after it, *cha-n iarr*, *gu-n iarr*, and the practice fell into disuse. The Irish carry their transport of the nasal much further than we do; they attach the *n* of the Genitive Plural of the Article, of the Possessive Pronoun Plural, of the Preposition *an(n)*, and so forth, to the following word when it begins with a vowel. To be consistent, if we were printing Scottish Gaelic for the first time, we should either follow the Irish way, or use our own consistently, attaching the sounds, when they are heard, to the previous word, and silently dropping them when they are not sounded. *Ant athair*, *arn athair*, *chan iarr*, *gun iarr* could easily be written alongside *an cù*, 'the dog'; *ar màthair*, 'our mother'; *cha seas*, '(I) will not stand; *gu bheil*, 'that (it) is'; but *guh ard* and *guh iosal* would look strange, at first at any rate. The so-called euphonic letters must, however, like other matters, be considered as a whole before we can disturb our present mode of writing, inconsistent in this respect though it be.

Perhaps one ought to add that some Gaelic writers seem unable to distinguish between the functions of the Apostrophe and Hyphen. One sees occasionally such

forms as *dh-òl* for *dh'òl*, and even *t-athair* for *t'athair*. It need hardly be said that the Hyphen in these and such cases is quite out of place. The Apostrophe is the proper mark to represent the temporarily suppressed *o* of *do*, the *d* itself aspirating in the one case, and becoming *t* in the other.

WELSH FOLK-SONG COLLECTIONS

Notes for the Bibliographical side of a Lecture delivered in Cardiff in January 1909 by Mr. Alfred Perceval Graves, and chiefly furnished by Dr. J. Lloyd Williams, Director of Music at Bangor University College, North Wales, and Editor of the Welsh Folk-Song Society's Publications.

1. The first collection of *decipherable* airs bears date 1742. Before that a few had been contributed to a book of English, Scots, and Irish airs, by a South Wales musician of the name of Edwards. There was also an MS. of Crwth music which has been published but not satisfactorily deciphered.

First Period. 1742-1844

The 1742 work consisted of twenty-four airs without name, among them Rhuddlan Marsh, compiled and arranged by John Parry, the blind harpist, of Ruabon, and Ivan Williams, a London teacher of music. Other volumes appeared in 1761 (or 62 ?) and 1781, the latter being far and away the best of the three.

2. Ed. Jones, Bardd y Brenin (the King's Bard), published the Relick in 1784. This and the Bardic Museum contained a large number of melodies not previously published, together with a number which had already appeared in John Parry's Collection. Nearly all the above had no words printed with them.

3. From 1809 onward. John Parry (Bard Alaw), another London musician, and for a considerable time musical director of the Vauxhall Gardens, published volumes of

Welsh melodies with English words by Mrs. Hemans and other well-known English writers. Some of the melodies were also utilised in his ballad operas, particularly in his Welsh Girls and the Trips to Wales, but *he made no additions to our store of melodies* (until 1848 in the second period), and his selection of airs was limited. Certain airs were utilised over and over again.

In 1809 Crotch published about forty examples of Welsh airs without words, most of them from Parry and E. Jones.

In connection with this Collection I have an interesting bit of fresh Welsh Folk-Song gossip from Dr. Lloyd Williams. Crotch was lecturer on music at Oxford, and Malchair, a Spanish violinist, used to collect for him melodies that he heard played or sung. In Crotch's examples of Welsh Melodies published in 1809 is a little minor air without title, but with a note in the Introduction, ' Heard by Dr. Malchair in Harleck Castle.' Some little time ago Llew Tegid, rummaging among the volumes on the bookstall of a dealer in the Bangor Town Hall, came across a neatly written MS. music-book, which proved to be Malchair's, and to contain the very melody picked up in Harlech Castle. The book had thus strangely found its way back into the region in which the North Welsh air had been noted down in it.

In the same year, 1809, appeared the first of the three volumes, published by Thompson, and containing ninety airs, with English lyrics written especially for them, and arrangements by Haydn and Beethoven. This enterprise was more ambitious than successful. Many of the tunes were mutilated by Thompson, and others misunderstood. A few only were effectively done.

In 1829 appeared a collection of harp tunes by Richard Roberts, the blind harpist of Carnarvon. This contained a considerable number of unpublished airs, but was not well done, the spelling of the Welsh names and the translation into English being execrable.

There were other minor collections as that of Bingley in 1800.

Here are some generalisations *re* the first period of Welsh Folk-Song Collecting :—

1. All the collections are by Northwalians, all of whom except R. Roberts resided the greater part of their time in London, and most of whom were harpists: or by non-Welshmen. *There was no collection of songs* made by a Southwalian.

2. Most of the melodies were harp tunes, and were either purely instrumental (some having elaborate variations) or were used to sing penillion to in the peculiar North Wales style.

3. There were very few 'songs' in the proper sense of the term, and still fewer folk-songs. This, in spite of the well-attested fact that South Wales was rich—far richer than North Wales—in songs, and, be it noted, in modal tunes—Dorian, Æolian, and Mixo-Lydian.

4. Many of the tunes printed were of English origin. Far better ones than most belonging to this category were omitted, though they must have been widely known (perhaps too widely known) and had even been borrowed by the English themselves. Witness the case of the 'Bells of Aberdyfi,' first published in Wales by Jane Williams in 1844, but which had already been sung in ballad opera (to a parody of Welsh words) in 1785.

5. One of the most striking facts is the almost total absence of Welsh words in the above collections.

During the period under consideration harpists were found in every neighbourhood, and the ability to sing penillion was general. Even in London there were many Welsh harpists. According to an advertisement found at the end of William Leatheart's book on penillion (1825), the singing of penillion went on at certain houses (mostly public-houses) every evening of the week. There is, however, a bitter complaint that The Revival was gradually causing this kind of singing to fall into disrepute.

The singing of ballads obtained everywhere, but the tunes were generally a class apart, peculiar in style, many

of them not particularly beautiful in form or melody. Many of them also were of English origin, others bore names suggestive of such origin, but this was undoubtedly due to their having been first sung to ballads which were either translations or imitations of English ones. Thus we have a number of Welsh 'crimson velvet' tunes, but they are all different in melody and in metre to the English one recorded by Chappell.

We know from the few folk-songs collected by Jane Williams and others in subsequent years, that there must have been a large number of folk-songs in the country. Why were neither the melodies nor the words recorded? Mr. J. H. Davies has shown that the simple lyrics were despised by the regular bards because of the absence of all trace of *cynghaned*. An analogous reason accounts for the neglect of the tune by the musician.

Thus there were three distinct classes of song:—

(*a*) The lowest stratum, into which the more learned never penetrated—the folk-song proper. Of these there is a pitifully small number recorded.

(*b*) The ballad tune, and (*c*) the harp tune.

These overlapped somewhat, but the last on the whole was the top stratum, though the singing of traditional penillion prevailed among all classes, high and low.

II.—The Period from 1844 to 1848

(*Four years only*)

1844 and 1845. Two collections of unpublished songs which had been sent to the Abergavenny Eisteddfod were published.

Maria Jane Williams (1844), made by far the most important. She obtained the songs from the people: she has recorded them exactly as she got them. She did not reject those exhibiting ancient modes, and she did not displace the original words. Some of these are among the most expressive that we have—'Y Deryn Pur' (The Dove), 'The

Blackbird,' ' The Miller's Daughter,' ' Watching the Wheat,' ' Bells of Aberdovey,' etc.

John Thomas (1845) has some interesting tunes, but he has replaced the original lyrics with words of his own—and these are very unequal in merit.

In 1848 appeared the *Welsh Harper*, vol. ii. (The first had appeared in 1839, and with the exception of a few melodies at the end was a reprint of Ed. Jones from the original plates.) The second volume had a large number of new airs. These were not collected by J. Parry, but supplied to him by three collectors, of whom the most important were the Rev. J. Jenkins of Kerry and Aneurin Owen Pughe. Unfortunately the words and information as to the origin which accompanied most of these (particularly those of Jenkins) were omitted and some were tampered with. The accompaniments were simple and tasteful, but we could easily have done without these if the other information had been supplied.

As a matter of fact the only collector who approached the Welsh folk-song in the proper spirit was Miss J. Williams.

Although subsequent to 1844 we have had a few sporadic examples recorded, we have had no *collection* formed on the same lines as hers. This is Dr. Lloyd Williams's criticism, but Sir Harry Reichel takes a different view. 'Miss Jane Williams,' he writes, 'gained the prize offered for such a collection in the Abergavenny Eisteddfod volume of 1838, and that of Bennett and Evans (1896) is largely based upon the MS. collection of Llewelyn Alun, which gained a similar prize in the Llangollen Eisteddfod of 1858. To the student of folk-song the last of these is by far the most valuable. The Editors have evidently set before themselves the collection of genuine original material without too much regard to its apparent artistic value. Thus we get not only many beautiful and hitherto unpublished airs, such as "Morfa's Frenhines," Ffarwel Ned Pugh, but a number of what we may call tunes in the making, airs which have not yet been elaborated into perfect form, but still show the

rough tool-work of the artist as he groped his way towards the expression of the idea in his mind.'

III.—The Third Period

The collections published during this period are too well known to need description. Those of Brinley Richards, John Thomas (Pencerdd Gwalia), Davidson, Owain Alaw (*The Gems of Welsh Melody*), Dr. Joseph Parry, etc. Most of the melodies were already known.

The collection of Richards (South of Wales) and the *Gems* were notable for their containing a large number of new Welsh lyrics, those of Ceiriog and of Talhaiarn.

It will be seen that the collections of the first and second period were made in the main with the object of preserving the Welsh National Melodies. Those of the third aimed rather at the supply of good songs available for the musical public.

Now we hope to have side by side with these the new airs now being collected from the lips of the Welsh peasantry, and the most carefully chosen of these arranged as part-songs and solos by such musical experts as Dr. Somervell and Dr. Lloyd Williams, set to such traditional words as are worthy of preservation and, where these are wanting, lyrics of the quality of which our young Welsh bards are capable.

Sir Harry Reichel justly points out how many songs without words there are in Wales.

To quote Ieuan Dhu: 'As to songs that breathed anything like the spirit of the airs, both North and South Wales are sadly destitute.'

He has himself done much, as has Talhaiarn; and Ceiriog has done a great deal to wipe out this reproach. But it still obtains and it is therefore an encouragement to see older bards like Elvet and Morris Jones and Llew Tegid, and the younger ones like Eifion Win bestirring themselves to make 'Songs for Cymru,' remembering old Drummond of

Hawthornden's famous dictum: 'Let me make the songs for a people, and I care not who makes their laws.' Then let all young Welsh bards remember what an Irishman of Welsh descent once wrote in his passionate appeal to his fellow-countrymen to fill the wide gaps that still exist in our national minstrelsy—words fit to fire the blood of every true son of the Celt:—

'If they be poets, they can do so. If they be men of bounding animal spirits, who love the rise because of its toil and the descent because of its speed, who have grown up amid the common talk and pictures of nature, the bosomed lake amid rocks like a woman in a warrior's arms, the endless sea with its roaring or whispering fringes, the mantled or glittering or thundering night, the bleak moor, the many-voiced trees, the bounding river: if they be men who have passionately loved, and, ere philosophy raised them above it, ardently hated: if they be men generous in friendship, hearty at the hearth, tranced by sweet or maddened by strong sounds, sobbing with unused strength and fiery for freedom and glory, then they can write lyrics for every class in Ireland.'

That was Thomas Davis's appeal to Irishmen, and it has been and is still being responded to. It will be well if Welshmen and, for the matter of that, all the young lyrists of the Four Nations within the British seas will further bethink themselves of Sir Harry Reichel's fine appeal:—

'Our Empire is tending more and more to become a Confederation of Sister Nations, kept together partly by external pressure, partly, and we trust increasingly, by internal attraction. Such cohesion can only exist, provided the different parts understand and appreciate each other. Through what medium can they better get to know each other's true spirit and ideals than through their folk-songs, which embody, perhaps in a greater degree than any other artistic product, the finer national instincts of the particular race from which they spring?'

THE BATTLE OF RAITH AND ITS SONG-CYCLE: ATTRIBUTED TO HANEIRIN[1]

E. W. B. Nicholson

§ 1. *The Commander-in-Chief*

Close neighbours in Ulster were the Picts of Dal Araide and the Scots of Dal Riada. Among the latter ruled, in the early 5th century, a chief whose name in the nominative case was Eochu: but it is important to know that the stem form of it was Echach, the genitive Echach, and that his son Erc is called MacEchach. This Eochu is styled by chroniclers Muindremhar, Muinremuir, or Muinremor—which appears on the face of it to mean Thicknecked, from *muin*, 'neck,' and *remor*, 'thick.' I am confident, however, for a reason which the reader will appreciate by and by, that the real epithet was Muintermhor, 'Of the large retinue,' like the Welsh royal epithet 'Cascord maur' (= Gosgordd fawr) in Table XII. of the 'Harleian Genealogies.' The syllables *er* and *re* are expressed by the same supralinear abbreviation, and an early ꞇ with a long top and a tail carried up is quite liable to be misread as an Irish ẟ.[2]

Now Erc mac Echach Muintermhoir[3] had a number of children, one of whom, Fergus Mor, led a settlement into the west of Alban, the country he occupied being called, after his homeland, Dal Riada. There is no hint that he *conquered* it: indeed the idea is absurd. He may have inherited it through his wife, or by right of his mother—for it is noticeable that he is frequently called Mac Misi Mor,[4] after his mother Mise. He may even have been invited over by the Picts as a check on the Welsh of Alclyde:

[1] The references in this paper to 'Stephens' are taken from his text, translation, and commentary, edited by Powel, and issued in 1888 by the Cymmrodorion Society.

[2] The converse mistake of reading a ẟ as a ꞇ is made in the *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1062, l. 1, where the MS. has not *strutuguar* but *struduguar*.

[3] 'Muintermhoir' in this case, because it has to be put in the genitive.

[4] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 309, 311, 317.

certainly his successors held rule under a feudal obligation to the Pictish kingdom.[1]

This occupation took place, according to Tigernach, in 501, and in 574 his great-grandson Aidan, the son of Gabran, became ruler of Scottish Dal Riada, and by the help of Columba was able to make himself independent of Irish Dal Riada except that he was to be bound to aid it in war.

Aidan clearly ruled over the district of Gowrie before he became king of the Dal Riada Scots. Skene points out that the length of his reign, as recorded by Tigernach, exceeds by 5 years his reign over the Scots (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 160). Moreover, in the Prophecy of St. Berchan (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 82) it is said of him :—

> Nor was it happy with him that an Erinach
> Should be king in the east under the Cruithnigh.

His *Scottish* kingdom was not in the east but in the west. And the following facts enable us definitely to say that he ruled over Gowrie, though he may have added other territory to it by marriage.

Aidan was the son of Gabran, who married a daughter of Brachan of Brecheiniauc, chief of the Brechin district, which gets its name from him.[2] It is clear that Gabran

[1] See my *Keltic Researches*, p. 81.

[2] See his legend in Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 272-5. It is semi-fabulous, but a good deal seems clear from it. Brachan was the son of an Irish king by the daughter of a South-Welsh king named Theuderic (Theodoricus, a name copied from that of the Visigothic king who became an ally of Aetius). From his grandfather he inherited Brecknock in South Wales, which is named after him. His North British territory he doubtless inherited through some Pictish ancestress, perhaps his mother's mother or his grandfather's : for the Pictish law of succession was through females, and his mother was married to the Irish king under condition that when a son was born he and she were to return to Britain that the boy might not be deprived of *patrio regno Britanniæ*. He was sent to be educated by one Drichan, and an anecdote shows that this was *juxta ripam fluminis Ischir*, which is obviously Isc Hir, the *long* Esk, *i.e.* the *South* Esk, close to which Brechin stands. His legend shows him to have been of very bad morals, and he left an unusually large number of children, some of whom are associated with Wales, but others with 'Manan' or Mannia' = Manaw in the Tay region. He was buried in an isle called Enysbrachan Brachan's isle), *juxta Manniam* (the Inch at Brechin ?).

Brechin is a locative, and so is Gouerin (with $i = ai$) : it is this i which infects the first vowel of Brachan from a into e.

received Gowrie as her portion, and that it took from him its name. For Gabran is syncopated from Gaboran, a derivative of O. Ir. *gabor*, 'goat,' and this is *gobhar* in Highland Gaelic and *gafr* in Welsh: consequently Aidan's father appears not only as Gabran and Gabhran, but also as Goueran, Gouran, and Gafran. The earliest recorded form of Gowrie is Gouerin (before 1200), but still earlier forms are found in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*: for there is a 'cat gouaran,' 'battle of Gowrie' (which neither Stephens nor Silvan Evans has seen the meaning of), in No. 29 of the Raith song-cycle; and the *Book of Taliessin* contains in Poem XI. the line:—

Yg gafran yn aduan brecheina6c,

translated by Professor Anwyl,[1] 'In Gafran in the quarter of the land of Brychan' (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, reprinted from the *Celtic Review*, p. 42). Gafran and Gouaran, then, were Gowrie, which was the patrimony of Aidan.

In 583 Aidan won a battle in Manann, doubtless against the Angles. In 590 he fought the battle of Leithrig, and in 596 was defeated (and lost two sons) in the battle of Circind. He was heavily beaten by the Northumbrians at Degsastan (apparently Dawstane in Liddesdale) in 603, and died in Kintyre in 606, having apparently abdicated. He had been for some quarter of a century the one really striking figure in British history.

§ 2. *The Battle*

In 596 he was encamped and fortified against the men of Deira and Bernicia near Raith, which is about 2½ miles W. from Kirkcaldy in Fife. He had a mounted escort of 300,[2] led by 3 chiefs—the flower, it would seem, of British chivalry. Apparently they held the country at the back of Raith, while the Angles probably occupied

[1] He does not identify Gafran, but says that Brecheina6c is 'probably a Brycheiniog of the North.'

[2] Also given as 360: the variation will be discussed later.

the land between Raith and the sea, with their ships to retreat to in case of defeat. After the armies had been in touch with each other (either there or in the adjoining country) for something like a week, the British escort indulged in a drinking-feast—the cause (to some extent, at least) of the morrow's disaster. At dawn (seemingly without any support from the main force) they rode downhill upon enormously superior forces, and by daybreak their destruction was so complete that not more than 3 escaped.

According to the song-cycle, they were accompanied by a bard, who fell into the hands of the Angles, from whom he was ransomed. His name is given as Aneurin, which, as I learn from Professor Anwyl, represents either Honorinus or a vernacular adaptation of that name, and I find that he was known at a very early date as Haneirin ;[1] but the *H* was eventually dropped, and the name turned into Aneurin. Under that we have a great number of poems relating to the battle and to those who took part in it: they are known as the *Gododin*—a name to be discussed later. In the late form of the text which has descended to us, the scene is always called *catraeth*, i.e. *Cat Raeth*, but the Middle Welsh *ae* stands for Old Welsh *ai*, and so we get back to an original *Cat Raith*, ' battle of Raith.'

Irish chroniclers (Tigernach and the *Annals of Ulster*) also speak of it as the ' battle of Raith '—*cath Ratha*, *cath* being the Irish equivalent of Welsh *cat*, and *Ratha* being the genitive of *Raith*. They call it (copying, of course, some earlier chronicle)' cath Ratha in druadh.' *Raith* means ' earthwork,' and in Ireland at any rate there were a great many places so named—while there was at least one other in Scotland. Consequently, it was common to

[1] In the *Historia Brittonum*, § 62, a list of bards of the time of Ida and Mailcun is given, containing the words ' et Neirin.' Zimmer (*Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 102) anticipated me long ago in seeing that ' et ' is a misreading of the first syllable of the name ; but he should have emended not Aneirin but Haneirin—the 8th century form of the conjunction being not *ac*, *a*, but *hac*, *ha* (see the *Gram. Celt.*, pp. 118, 720). That Lat. *h-* was at any time *pronounced* in Welsh there seems, however, no evidence.

distinguish them by suffixes—e.g. *Ráith na-n epscop*, 'Bishops' Raith' (*Martyrology of Donegal*)—and the words may mean 'battle of Druid's Raith'; but I very strongly suspect that *druadh* represents 'bard,' and that the expression means 'the poet's battle of Raith,' because a poet had sung of it under that name.

No one seems ever to have hit on this perfectly simple explanation of 'Catraeth.' Nearest to doing so came the people who said it = Cat Traeth, 'battle of the Strand.' Skene (wonderful to relate) not only identified the commander-in-chief (though quite misunderstanding his name) with Aidan, and specified 596 as the year in which it was fought, but actually quoted the very next line of Tigernach to that which contains the mention of Cath Ratha without seeing that the two names were the same! Nay, in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* he had even given us under 596 the very words of Tigernach '*Cath* Ratha in druadh'!

§ 3. *Minidauc mwynvawr*

The commander of the native forces is repeatedly called Minidauc (the oldest spelling, once only), Mynydauc, or Mynydawc. No one has seen who *he* was. His name is supposed to mean 'Mountaineer,' and so of course it does as written: strange that the Irish chronicles and the Welsh genealogies should be alike ignorant of it! The truth is that it should be divided into Min Idauc[1] = Min Aidauc, 'my Aidauc,' *i.e.* Aidan the son of Gabran. *Aidauc* would be the Welsh honorific or pet form of Aidan: one of the saints named Aidan is sometimes called Maedoc, *i.e.* M'Aedoc, and sometimes Aeddan Foeddog, where Foeddog is a later and mutated form of M'Aedoc. *Min* is an obsolete

[1] Idauc became Iddawc in later Welsh. Professor Anwyl (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, p. 25) quotes from the *Mabinogi* known as the Dream of Rhonabwy Iddawc Cordd Prydein (Iddawc the disturber of Pictland), a title most appropriate to Aidan, who had a 13 years' struggle with the Picts (see my *Keltic Researches*, p. 81). In the 'Dream' he is put too early, being made a contemporary of Arthur, and his nickname Cordd Prydein is wrongly explained: he is also erroneously called son of Mynyo, which suggests his having been called Iddawc Mynaw or Miniu, *i.e.* Aidauc of Manaw.

possessive adjective = 'mine': that it once existed in Welsh is shown by the later mutated form *vyn*. In Irish the use of the possessive adjective of the first person as a prefix of respect or endearment (*e.g.* Mochua = My Cua) is overwhelmingly abundant: in Welsh I only remember Munghu. This last is a by-name for St. Kentigern, and is erroneously explained as 'dear (*mwyn*) Cu': it really is an instance of the same obsolete possessive pronoun *min* or *mun*, and means 'my Cu.' [1]

In two other songs of the cycle Min Aidauc was designated by the later form of the possessive adjective as M'Aidauc: but the ignorance or carelessness of the transmitters of the text turned this into Madauc, a Middle Welsh form of the Welsh name Matauc. The context of the instances in question leaves no possible room for doubt as to the identity of the chief named, and the corruption to Madoc is well known in the case of his namesake St. Aidan.

It is the same Aidan who is referred to as Echeching, a name hitherto unexplained. It is one of the very rare Welsh patronymics in *-ing*,[2] of which another specimen, *Gwrveling*, is found in these poems. Gwrveling is *not* a separate person, but an epithet of Medel, and means 'descendant of Gwrvel.' And Echeching is the regular *umlaut*-development of an earlier Echaching (Echachinc ?), descendant of Eochu.

Now this Eochu, we saw, is said to have been called 'Muindremhar,' and Aidan himself is called in these poems 'mwynvawr' in the line:—

> Rac gosgord Mynydawc mwynvawr
> Before the retinue of My Aidauc 'mwynvawr'

Here 'mwynvawr' is interpreted as 'greatly (*vawr*) cour-

[1] Kentigern (*Conthigernus*) means 'Hound-lord' and Munghu 'my Hound,' *cú* being Goidelic for 'hound' and of common occurrence itself as a man's name.

[2] See Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprachschatz*: he gives Coel-ing, Kynverch-ing, Maelgyn-ing, Cadell-ing, Dogfeil-ing. Sir J. Rhŷs adds that in the *Mabinogi* of Math (73.29) dinodig = Dinoding (Dinodīg).

teous (*mwyn*).' How many other compounds with the *adverb -vawr* are known ? They must be extremely rare, and it is odd that the only other instance of this one quoted in the dictionary is applied to another prince. The escort of Aidan numbered 303 men, and I have no doubt that his ancestor's name should be written *muintermhor*,[1] 'of the great retinue,' and that *mwynvawr* is a corrupted form of the same meaning. Whether it is a Welsh word at all, or simply the Goidelic epithet borrowed (just as we speak of the Louis Quatorze style), I do not know ; but in either case the *mwyn* has been cut down from something like *muinter*.

Let me add a very curious confirmation. Professor Anwyl, on p. 26 of his *Wales and the Britons of the North*, refers to a Triad which tells of the 'Three Horse-loads of the Isle of Britain.' One is that of the horse of Elidyr Mwynvawr, 'And the second horse-load was borne by Coruann, the horse of the sons of Eliffer Gosgorduavr (Eliffer of the Great Retinue), who carried upon him Gwrgi and Peredur.' Now Elidyr and Eliffer are merely two forms of the same excessively rare name. We have 'Eleuther cascord maur' and his sons Gurci and Peredur in No. XII. of the 'Harleian Genealogies,' compiled in the late 10th century, and he was contemporary with Aidan. I submit that Elidyr Mwynvawr, who had married a daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and therefore lived at this same time, is the same man, and that, just as Elidyr is an older form of Eliffer, so Mwynvawr is the older synonym of Gosgorduavr.

Gosgord in the line above quoted is quite impossible for the year 596. It is a spurious and late form, generated by syntactic mutation. Even in the late 10th century (see above) it was *cascord*, and in a 10th century gloss (pro-

[1] As the derivation of *muinter* has hitherto been a puzzle, let me say that it is from *ministerium* in its late sense of 'retinue.' For *s* dropped after a liquid, see *Gram. Celt.*, p. 801, *cinteir* for *cinsteir*. The *u* is due (if not to dissimilation) probably to a false derivation from *munus*.

In Welsh *muinter* would naturally become *mwynner* (as *hanter* has become *hanner*), and from this the passage by 'Volksetymologie' to *mwyn* seems easy enough.

bably Cornish or of a neighbouring dialect[1]) it is *casgoord* (*Gram. Celt.*, p. 1062).

§4. *The Localities*

Now for localities.

As regards Raith itself, I have had to consider carefully the claims of Raith and Little Raith, the latter about 3 miles W. of the former. I have decided for Raith on the following grounds. If the songs numbered 69 and 70 refer to this battle, as they presumably do, there was, according to Stephens, a 'conflict at the confluence before the course,' a 'mount,' a 'confluence on the boundary'; while, according to Silvan Evans (Skene), there was 'a conflict at the Aber in front of the course, The pass and the knoll were in conflagration,' there was a 'mount,' and there was 'a fire at the Aber in front of the fence.' It is clear, then, that there was an Aber (inflow); but there is no inflow between Carden and Little Raith (the Gelly burn flowing *out of* Loch Gelly, not into it), while there is an inflow of a smaller burn into the Dronachy burn[2] in the 'pass' down which the squadron would ride, and below a 'mount,' to wit, Comrie Hill, on which stands Raith Tower, (built upon the site of a tumulus).

Eidin is of repeated occurrence, and is *not* Edinburgh. In No. 13 we have the fort of Eidyn as a place from which men came to the battle; in 17 the hall of Eidyn as the scene of the wine-feast before it (which puts Edinburgh out of the question); in 18 Eidyn as the starting-place of the doomed three hundred; and in the Gorchan Maelderw we have the mead (*i.e.* liquor) of Eidin coupled with the generalship of Mynydawc and the fatal ride (Stephens, p. 348; Skene, vol. i. p. 421). The name represents an earlier Etin, Goidelic plural of a word meaning

[1] See Loth, *Vocabulaire Vieux-breton*, pp. 24-7. His conjecture, and Mr. Silvan Evans's, that the *a* in *casgoord* is a mistake for *o* is negatived by the concurrent evidence of the 'Harleian Genealogies.'

[2] It may be asked, Why not the inflow of the Dronachy burn into Raith Lake? The answer is that Raith Lake is a modern artificial creation.

'brow,' 'steep slope,' which is *étan* in O. Irish, *aodann* in Highland Gaelic: Edin is well known in Highland place-names, such as Edinample. In this same county of Fife is the Eden River,[1] apparently so called because it flows from the slopes of the Ochils. The Eidin of the poems is probably the high land above the coast.

Long after writing this conjecture, I obtain virtual proof of it. Professor Anwyl (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, p. 37) says that in the *Gorchan Cynvelyn*, attributed to Haneirin, 'the place-names Caer Eidyn (=Caredin), Gododin, and Catraeth are Northern.' Now Cárriden (Karedin in 1250) is the Kair Eden of the 13th cent. MS. of Gildas which Mommsen calls X (see his ed., p. 18); but I submit that the Caer Eidyn of the *Gorchan* was not in Linlithgowshire but close to 'Catraeth.' And in the Raith song-cycle there is plain evidence of a fort in Eidyn. In 13 we have *eidyn esgor*, 'Eidyn's fort,' as a starting-place for Catraeth; and in 16 we have 'echeching gaer,' 'Echeching's *caer*'—Echeching being Aidan. *This*, I doubt not, was Caer Eidyn, and it stood 2½ miles N.W. of Raith House, its memory perpetuated in the ruin called *Carden* Tower,[2] where Carden =Cár(e)den (cf. Cárriden), the stress being thrown back by English speakers, and the consequently unstressed second syllable being then lost between the trilled *r* and the following consonant.[3]

Edinburgh *may* be the Dineidin of the *Gorchan Maelderw* (Stephens, l. 959; Skene, vol. i. p. 420), *if editors' punctuation is correct*:—

Pan doethan deon o dineidin parth

'When strangers[4] arrived from Dineidin part'

[1] *Not* the 'R. Eden,' as maps call it. Many are the Keltic rivers so misnamed in English atlases. In Wales, for instance, Afon Seiont, the Seiont river, *i.e.* the river which flows by Segontium, but *not* the 'R. Seiont,' which is as absurd as it would be to call our London river Thames the 'R. London.'

[2] Also the neighbouring Carden-den.

[3] Cf. our *world* (for *wórold*), rightly scanned by Burns as a three-syllable word.

[4] This translation of *deon* is very doubtful, however: Professor Anwyl would render 'nobles.'

or (Sir J. Rhŷs queries) 'from the direction of Dineidin.' In that case, however, it would not be the starting-place of the doomed 300 but of their enemies, who would presumably have sailed across the Forth estuary. On the other hand, it seems possible to render 'When strangers arrived, from Dineidin part every wise man of the country was banished,' and *then* Dineidin is presumably in Fife, and a synonym of the fort of Eidin.

Let me add that the earliest *certain* mentions of Edinburgh that I know of under *any* name are in a charter of about 1128, where the form is Edwinesburg-, and in Simeon of Durham, who died in 1130 and who writes Edwinesburch: if those forms are correct, the name is clearly derived from Edwin, king of Northumbria, who reigned in 617-33. The Pictish Chronicle, completed in the late 10th century, says that in Indulf's reign 'Oppidum Eden vacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem' (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 10), but even that might be Carriden (Karedin = Car Edin). Also I have maintained (*Keltic Researches*, p. 39) that in the Legend of St. Andrew (*Chronicles*, etc., p. 185) *ishundene* is blundered from *is Dunedene* and means 'below Edinburgh': but the reference is to an alleged 8th century charter, the list of witnesses to which is the most barefaced of forgeries. Finally, in a lost 13th century register of St. Andrews (*Chronicles*, etc., p. 175) there is a reference to Dunedin as the place where Edgar died in 1107, but the *form* used may be as late as the compilation of the chronicle itself, which was not before 1251. In short, the Edwin-derivation must be regarded as in possession with a slightly doubtful title, the Edin-derivation as a claimant with a title at present insufficiently attested but possibly capable of being established by further evidence. Only let the reader insist that, when any alleged evidence in favour of Edin is quoted, the actual words shall be cited, the exact reference given, and the ground stated for

identifying the place in question with Edinburgh instead of (1) with Karedin, (2) with Eidin in Fife.

Dundee, however, unless I am utterly mistaken, *is* mentioned in our song-cycle. It occurs in No. 48, which a glance at Stephens's *apparatus criticus* shows to have suffered many things from copyists, *and which abounds in repeated words.* Professor Anwyl (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, p. 35) quotes :—

'O dindŷwŷt ŷn dŷvu
Wŷt ŷn dŷwovu.'

('From Dindywyt there came to us
Wit (thence), he came up to us.')

He says that Dindywyt 'is probably in the North,' equates Wyt with the name of Wit the son of Peithan, and adds that 'Wit is a recognised Pictish name, and that Peithan is a derivative, probably a diminutive, of Peith (= Pecht), whence we have the Welsh plural Peithwyr (the Picts).'

Print (in modern fashion) :—

O Dindy Wyt yn dyvu (*or* dywovu)
From Dundee Wyt came (up) to us,

rejecting the second 'Wyt yn dywovu' as an erroneous repetition. In the version of the song given in the *Gorchan Maelderw* (variously attributed to Haneirin and to Taliessin) we actually have only 'O dindywyt yn dyowu.' Let me add that in the 'Gododin' copy 'dindovyt' is a various reading, and that in the *Liber de Scon* (*c.* 1200) Dundee is found as Dundo. Din in Welsh is the equivalent of Goidelic *dun.*

This mention of Dundee is of extraordinary importance. Firstly, because there was no previous record of the city's existence before about 1200—so that 600 years are added to its history by one single word. Secondly, because the name of the man who came thence virtually proves that it was a place of importance even in 596.

He was beyond reasonable doubt the same 'Uuid' (gen. case),[1] three of whose sons became kings of the Picts successively about the years 631, 635, and 640—Gartnait v., Brude II., and Talarg IV. For the dates suit perfectly, and no other instance of the name is known. As to Peithan, that is the name not of Wyt's father but of his mother:[2] she was a daughter of Brachan, chief of Brechin: in his 'legend' she is mentioned in the Welsh mutated form Beithan and is called 'filia Brachan in Mannia,' *i.e.* in the Manann of the Tay region. Her name suggests that her mother was a Pict,[3] and (as the Pictish royal succession was through females) explains her grandsons' accession to the Pictish throne; her *son* was clearly killed in the battle of Raith, and so *could not* succeed to it. He, of course, was first cousin to Aidan.

Mr. W. J. Watson tells me that 'Dundee is *Dundèadh*, with *dh* pronounced *w* with a lingering emphasis (jaoow).' I suggest that it means 'Fort of Diu,' named in the Pictish Chronicle as the brother of a king who reigned in the 3rd century, and whose own name began with Deo-: see my *Keltic Researches*, p. 56. The Pictish Chronicle seems to come to us either from Brechin or from near it (*ib.*, p. 87), and, if Diu gave name to Dundee, that explains why he is mentioned.

Finally, I suggest that the *W* of Wyt = two separate *u*'s, of which the former belongs to the previous word—

[1] The Pictish, Irish, and Welsh representations of the name offer so many phonetic possibilities that I am obliged to leave to the future (if life be long enough!) the determination of the original form of his name. That it occurs as Gwith (Stephens, p. 228) I cannot discover, and believe to be a blunder (see next note).

[2] I find that Stephens knew this. He adds that 'Wid was one of the fourteen sons of Brudei, the celebrated king who reigned over the Southern Picts from 556 to 586 (Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. i. 250).' This statement is absolute moonshine, springing from an early blunder of Skene's. Skene refers to a certain Guith or Gnith (the latter form is the better supported), who did *not* live in the 6th century A.D. but in the 1st century B.C., whose parentage and the number of whose brothers are alike absolutely unknown, and who was himself ruler over the Cruithni. See my *Keltic Researches*, p. 51.

[3] It also suggests that her father or husband spoke Welsh—for its form is purely Welsh.

representing Older Welsh *Dindiu Uit.* We should then have the rime:—

O Dindyu
Uyt yn dyvu.

Mordei = 'Tay-sea,' *t* passing into *d* in composition, and *ei* being a mere phonetic variation of *eu* descended from *au* (see *Gram. Celt.*, p. 107; Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, p. 515)—so that Ptolemy's Ταού-ας became Teu, and Mordei means the district bordering on the Tay estuary.

And here we find the key to the name Godeu, quoted by Professor Anwyl in his *Wales and the Britons of the North* from three passages in the *Book of Taliessin.*[1]

In the first (p. 42), from Poem VIII., the bard says that he sang 'yg kat godeu bric Rac prydein wledic,' 'in the outskirts of the battle of Godeu before the over-lord of Picts.'[2] In the second (p. 45), from Poem XXXIV., we have 'Yg godeu g6eith myna6,' 'in Godeu, action of Myna6.' In the third (p. 46), from Poem XXXVI., we find Godeu coupled with Reget (the principality of Urbgen Reget), as setting themselves in battle-array. Here we have Godeu in alliance with Picts and Britons, and as the scene of the battle of Manann. Professor Anwyl says (p. 41), 'It looks as if the real Goddeu were a district in the North.' It was, in fact, the district *go Deu*, 'below Tay,' the *D* being merely the necessary syntactic mutation (after *go*) of the *T* in *Teu.*

Mordei also seems to me to throw light on another passage in the *Book of Taliessin.* Professor Anwyl quotes (p. 44), from Poem XLIV.:—

'Ymordei vffin
Ymorhred gododin.'

'In Mordei of Vffin
In the long course of Gododin.'

I suggest that *mor* is of the same meaning, 'sea,' in both compounds, and that *morhred* = not the '*long* course,' but

[1] May it not also be a place-name in l. 720 of Stephen's text?

[2] Prydein = O. Welsh Priten = Qṛtanoi or Cruithni, otherwise called Picts—Welsh *P* as usual representing Ind.-Eur. *Q.*

the *sea*-course, probably the Firth of Forth. Uffin also occurs in the Raith song-cycle in a line translated in Skene (vol. ii. p. 402), 'Ere he was slain on the green plain of Uffin,' where the Welsh contains no preposition before Uffin. I suggest that the word is not the name of a district, but that, as *vfern*, *uffern* = *infernum* (*Gram. Celt.*, p. 117), so *uffin* = *in fine*, *i ffin*, 'on the frontier.' In Stephens (l. 732) we have '*orfun* gododin' with various readings *orfin* and *orffin*, rendered by him, 'on the confines of Gododin,' and in Skene (vol. i. p. 400), 'the extreme boundary of Gododin.' Here I take *or* to be the mutation of *gor* = 'super,' a particle and once also a preposition, and, if so, it would be a formation parallel to *umffin*.

Professor Anwyl says (p. 35): 'In one place there is an allusion to 'Kynted Eidyn' (the hall of Eiddin), 'and to a place called Keui.' I suppose No. 17 is referred to. Keui = Pit-kevy, about 8 miles N. of Raith.

'The river Anhon,' mentioned by Professor Anwyl, seems to occur in 'gwananhon,' named in connexion with Gwarthan the son of Dunawd (according to the superscription of the song). Stephens (l. 728) renders, 'Weak is Annandale, since he is in the grave': [1] Silvan Evans (Skene, vol. i. p. 400), 'Gwananhon will be his grave.' 'Annan' is found as Annent about 1124 and as Anant in 1152; and, since *nh* points to earlier *nt*, I suggest that Gwananhon, like Godeu and Guotodin (also written in the 'Gododin' MSS. with *Gw*-), is a district-name formed with the preposition *guo*, *go*, and *Ananton*—whether or not the *-on* of the latter is part of the name of the river or a regional suffix (as in Ceredigion (earlier Cereticiaun), 'the land of Ceretic').

Caerwys is not, as supposed, the name of an unknown town, but contains the adjectival suffix *-wys* = Lat. *-enses*.[2] It means 'the men of Cary,' *i.e.* Castle Cary, midway

[1] But 'guanannon' or 'gwannannon' is found in l. 396, from the *Gorchan Maelderw*, which Stephens translates 'They pierced; the result of mead was the manliness of the heroes'—while in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* the same line is rendered 'Gwannannon, honoured in the mead banquet, whose prowess I will extol'!

[2] In the Flintshire Caerwys the adjective has become a place-name.

between Falkirk and Kirkintilloch. There is a Roman fort there, and Cary = Welsh plural *Caereu* = Castra. The English family-names Carew (pronounced Cary) and Cary are derived from a Pembrokeshire *Caereu*, Carew, Carey.

'Ar beithing' (No. 28, Stephens, p. 192), for which 'Arceithing' is a various reading, is not 'upon the Picts' but 'upon Keithing,' that is, the 'Keithing burn,' which falls in at Inverkeithing, not far from Raith. *Ceithing* represents the Goidelic form; but for Goidelic *c* arising out of original *q* Kymric regularly has *p*, and 'beithing' is simply the syntactically mutated form of Peithing,[1] as Beithan of Peithan. Perhaps the battle was the same as the 'Kat ym ynuer,' 'Battle about Inver,' quoted by Professor Anwyl (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, p. 46) from Poem XXXVI. of the *Book of Taliessin*.

There is a passage translated by Stephens (p. 337):—

> The fattest spotted mountain grouse
> And the noblest fish from the falls of the Derwent.[2]

Here 'mountain' is represented in the text by *o venyd* and 'Derwent' by *derwennyd*, riming to it. Now I am certain that at any date approaching 596 the form would have been Deruentid—if the local termination *id-* existed so early at all. But then what becomes of the rime with *venyd*, which is obviously meant to be double? Well, *venyd* is itself suspicious, because the very last rime preceding is *vynyd . . . penn hyd*, and *vynyd*, *venyd* are the

[1] Skene's text gives *peithyng* as the next word, instead of Stephens's *perthyng*: it is doubtless a various reading or gloss to *beithing*. The translation of the line in Skene is quite different.

[2] If Derwent in 596, why are none of our four Derwents called Derwentid? Professor Anwyl (p. 36) says, 'The name Derwennyd seems to correspond to Derventio.' As late as the early 8th century, Bede (*H. E.*, 4, 29) calls the Cumberland Derwent, which was surely in a Welsh-speaking district (cf. Penrith), Deruuention-, and a century or so later still his translator calls it (in the genitive) Deorwentan, suggesting nom. Deorwente. Whether *derwennyd* = Derwent or the Derwent-country, the reference probably is to the Derbyshire river. The Cumberland Derwent has no 'falls' (or can *rayadyr* mean 'rapids'?) which would fit the sense, but its rocky tributary the Greta, which joins it a few hundred yards below Derwentwater, is sometimes invaded by excellent salmon coming up the Derwent from the sea. Our remaining Derwents were in hostile territory.

same word: to use the same word for two consecutive rimes is very poor art indeed. Therefore emend *veñyd* (*vennyd*), from that Middle Welsh form restore earlier *ventid*, and render *o ventid* 'from Menteith.' The oldest recorded form of Menteith is Meneted (see my *Keltic Researches*, p. 10); and of course the *M* would mutate here into *V*.[1]

§ 5. *The Name of the Cycle*

Next, for the title given to the song-cycle, 'Y Gododin,' 'The Gododin.' 'Gododin,' of course, is in the current text of these poems primarily the name of a people and country, in or close to which the battle took place. As regards those passages in which it is interpreted as the name of the poems themselves, they are worse than inconclusive. Nowhere do the poems state that they are so called —or that *any* poem is so called—and nowhere do they speak of *the* 'Gododin.' We merely find the two phrases 'Gododin does not (*or* will not) relate' (Stephens's ed., pp. 144, 352) and 'Does not Gododin relate?' (pp. 192, 300)—*i.e.*, as I take it, the people of the country in question. I have no doubt that the title is a sheer blunder; for the poems are not concerned with the 'Gododin' country (or its history) at large, but only with the men who fell in a single disastrous encounter—and those not necessarily men of 'Gododin.'

It might, indeed, be seriously questioned whether 'Gododin' (as distinct from 'Ododin') was even the name of a people or country. It might be alleged to be a 'ghost-word' arising out of a misunderstanding of Manaw Gododin = Manaw go Ododin, 'Manaw below the Otadini,' as distinguished from one or more other Menapian settlements known as Manaw. That was my own strong belief, but the discovery of Godeu = Below Tay, as the name either of that or a neighbouring district, satisfies me that the early

[1] I have various other identifications in mind as possible, but they must wait for the judgment of some one who can decide between conflicting versions of the text.

Welsh did use the preposition *guo, go,* as the first element in place-names.[1] At the time when our song-cycle claims to have been composed, the form, however, would be not Gododin, but Guotodin,[2] Guotaudin, Guotādin, Votodin, Votaudin, or Votādin—probably one of the two last.[3]

§ 6. *Date and Authorship*

Lastly, as to date and authorship.

Nothing would have pleased me better than to continue to believe, as I once did, that these poems (of course in an earlier phonetic state) were all the work of one man, writing about 596—and that man Haneirin. I regret to say that such a belief is no longer possible to me, though I know no reason why some—even most[4]—of them may not have originated as early, and though there seems to me a very strong *a priori* presumption that any which contains the name Min (A)idauc did—not to speak of the abundance of incidents and allusions which suggest contemporaneous authorship. The grounds on which I refuse to believe that they are all from the same hand, or all contemporary, are these.

If the story they tell is true throughout, there can be no reasonable question that the bard would know, or be able to ascertain, the number of the escort whom he accompanied on the fatal ride, and would know, or be able to ascertain, how many had escaped from it. He does not say that his captivity lasted any length of time; and it is morally certain that he would be delivered up to, or return to, his own army. Now the discrepancies on those two points—how many charged, how many escaped—are so important that it is

[1] Compare Mr. W. J. Watson's article on *fo* (the same preposition), *Celtic Review*, v. 148.

[2] Guotodin is the form in the *Historia Brittonum*, § 62.

[3] There seems no evidence that *V-* changed to *Gu-* in any Kymric language before the 8th century, or even the beginning of the 9th. And *ā* became *au* before passing into *o*. See Loth, *Vocab. Vieux-breton*, on both points.

[4] I greatly distrust the *derwennyd* couplet, however—even after restoring *deruentid*. If the river is meant, I should have expected something like Deruention; if the country, something like Deruentionio or Deruentionid. But the poem need not be connected with 'Catraeth,' or the couplet may be an interpolation.

beyond all reasonable probability to attribute them to the same man, if that man was himself in the ride. There were apparently at least three writers, whom I will call A, B, C, while A may possibly be not one man but four, whom I will distinguish as A^1, A^2, A^3, A^4.

A^1 writes of Min(A)idauc. He puts the retinue at 300 (Nos. 10, 59, 60), and says only 1 returned (Nos. 59, 60, once *atcorsant*) or escaped (No. 78—Skene's 76).

A^2 writes of Min(A)idauc. He says (No. 31) that a certain Aedan escaped from the fight with a broken shield, but did not return *to his home.*

A^3 speaks of 300, of whom only 1 escaped. This is in the *Gorchan Maelderw* (Stephens, p. 338; Skene, vol. i. p. 417).

A^4 speaks of 3 chiefs and 300, of whom none returned (*atcorsant*). This also is in the *Gorchan Maelderw* (Stephens, p. 340; Skene, vol. i. p. 417).

B writes of M'A(i)dauc. He says (Nos. 2, 68) that only one man from a hundred (*o gant*) came before M'A(i)dauc's tent when he returned. This implies either that the squadron consisted of (approximately) 100, or that, if it consisted of (approximately) 300, then 3 returned.

C says (No. 21), as translated by Stephens :—

> (Of) three warriors, three score, and three hundred wearing golden torques
> . . . Three alone escaped by the vigour of their blows—
> Aeron's two war-dogs, and the dauntless Cenon,
> And I who escaped from the shedding of my blood by virtue of my sacred muse.

The same numbers 3 + 60 + 300 are given in the *Gorchan Cynvelyn* attributed to Haneirin, and 3 only are said to have returned (Skene, vol. i. p. 414; Stephens, p. 191 note, *atcor(a)-sant*). Their names are given as Cynon, Cadraeth or Catreith,[1] and Cathleu.

[1] I very strongly suspect we should read 'Namyn tri nyt atcorsant Cynon a Gatraeth a Chatleu a Chatuant,' *i.e.* Three alone returned from Raeth battle—Cynon and Catleu and Catuant.

Here the number of the escaped is in absolute conflict with A^1, A^3, A^4, and the Aedan of A^2 is not included.

The number of the escort is also in absolute conflict with A^1, A^3, A^4. It may, indeed, be suggested that the 'three score' were part of the 'three hundred'—each hundred being formed in columns 20×5, and that the score are the 20 picked men in the front line. But that would be a sadly forced explanation, and, when I read in the *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1062, '*gosgordd brenin yw* 360 *wyr* (regis satellites sunt 360 viri) Leg.'[1], I cannot doubt that the number has been doctored from 300 (excluding the 3 chiefs) to 360 to agree with that of the escort of a king of Gwynedd.[2]

I find that Skene (vol. ii. pp. 363, 377) has observed the difference in numbers and accounts for it thus (p. 377): 'The stanzas opening "Men went to Catraeth" seem to indicate different events in the war, and the fate of different portions of the combatants. This stanza commemorates a body consisting of 363 heroes, who were different from the 300 who formed the retinue of Mynyddawg.' That there should be even in the same *war* two such charges, of numbers so near to each other, and in each case composed of tipsy or half-tipsy men, is a little too unlikely: one such disaster would surely have been a warning which would have prevented its repetition. But it is a case not of the same *war* but of the same *battle* (specified by name in both accounts), and none of the songs gives us any hint that there were two separate squadrons charging. The explanation is incredible.

Of the correctness of the lower number we have striking presumptive evidence in the story quoted by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 161) from Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (i. c. 8), that Columba saw in spirit a battle in which Aidan

[1] I cannot verify the quotation, but I cannot suppose it to be an invention.

[2] Professor Anwyl (*Wales and the Britons of the North*, p. 28) refers to a Triad which names The Three Pure Households of the Isle of Britain, one of them being that of Aedan, son of Gabran, 'and the number of each of the households was a hundred and twenty-one men.' Probably an earlier form of this Triad mentioned 'three warriors, three score, and three hundred,' and a later editor mistook this to mean that each of the three households had one warrior, one score, and one hundred.

and his people were engaged, and in which the 'barbarians' ultimately fled, but in which Aidan lost 303 men. That these should *not* be the 303 referred to by A^4 is almost too singular a coincidence to be entertained. Adamnan died in 704.

On the very uncertain hypothesis that all songs beginning with the same line were written by the same man, and none by an imitator, I attributed to A^1 those numbered by Stephens 6-14, 21, 33; 58-60; 78. To A^2, 31-2. A^3, author of 94, and A^4, author of 93, begin so similarly that I considered them one person. B I took to have written 2-5; 68, 77. But this division gives to A^1 the only song, 21, certainly written by C, who cannot possibly be the same person unless the text has been altered and interpolated. I am compelled therefore to regard C as an imitator, and as the possible author of other songs which on the hypothesis referred to I assigned to other hands.

As regards the question whether Haneirin was one of the writers, the following are the essential facts. He is mentioned in No. 52, which, according to Stephens, says that 'The pitiful slaughter and piercing of the delightful pillar of conflict has been the cause of separating thee from Aneurin': the song mentions a son [1] of Dwywei, said to be wife of Dunawd—and the death of a king Dunawt is recorded by the *Annales Cambriae* under 595, the year before the battle of Raith. This looks genuine enough (though the translation in Skene does not take *dwywei* as a proper name), 'Aneurin' riming with various words in *-in*. The only other mention of him by name is on pp. 250-1, where his imprisonment is described, where he says his intention to sing of Catraeth is known to Talyessin, and where again his name rimes with words in *-in*. Now in the *Historia Brittonum*, §§ 61-2, we are told that Ida reigned 12 years; then 'Dutigirn' in that time was fighting (*or*

[1] Are we sure that *O gyssul mab dwywei* is not 'from Consul son of Dwywei'? *Gyssul* is the syntactic mutation of Cyssul, which may be a proper name borrowed from Lat. *Consul*. There is the same doubt about *gussyl* in No. 4, 'O gussyl mab ysgyran.'

used to fight, *dimicabat*) against the race of Angles; then Talhaern Tataguen and Neirin [1] and Taliessin and Bluchbard and Cian called 'Gueinth Guaut' (*sic*) simultaneously at one time shone in British poesy; Mailcunus, the great king, was reigning among the Britons in Guenedota. Ida's reign is dated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 547, and Maelgwn Gwynedd died in a plague which the *Annales Cambriae* place in 547.[2] In other words, we have 8th century evidence that Haneirin and Taliessin both flourished nearly half a century before the battle of Raith. I do not say that the 8th century evidence is necessarily accurate in its chronology. I do not say that if it *is* accurate it forbids us to believe that the two poets were still alive in 596: Tennyson and Browning were both writing simultaneously at dates 54 years apart. But I do say that, in face of the demonstrably composite origin of the song-cycle, any alleged connexion [3] with writers believed to have flourished nearly half a century earlier should not be accepted without strict investigation. I may add that in a forthcoming paper on 'Taliessin' and 'Vgnach' I shall show reason to believe that 'Vgnach,' his alleged contemporary at Maelgwn's court, really was there. And, finally, were Haneirin the author of the particular song which commemorates the death of Donald Brecc, he would have been still singing in 642.[4] But I am bound to say that his name does not occur in it.

It is a little odd, if the songs containing the words *catraeth*, 'battle of Raeth,' are really contemporary, that they should never mention Raeth by itself, and that we should have not only the phrases *breithyell gatraeth* (No. 32, a *Mynydawc* song), *vreithell gatraeth* (No. 15), and *gynhen*

[1] *et Neirin*, mistranslated from a Welsh original *haneirin* misread as *ha neirin*.

[2] But apparently he did not die before 548: see my letter in *The Academy* of November 2, 1895.

[3] For a *known* false attribution to Taliessin, see the *Gram. Celt.*, p. 968.

[4] This has been observed by others. Skene interprets No. 45 as referring not to Haneirin's prison, but to his tomb, from which a later poet professes to evoke him (vol. ii. p. 360)! Skene's usual good sense has gone napping: did he really suppose that the Welsh bards were buried with hands bound and an iron chain round their knees?

gatraeth (No. 25)—which *can* be construed consistently with the real meaning of *catraeth*—but also *am gatraeth* (No. 63), where *am* means 'round about.' If *am* is correct, the writer would certainly seem to have been under the illusion that *cat* was part of the name of the place. But the right Middle Welsh reading may be *yg cat raeth*, 'in Raith battle,' and we never get '*cat* catraeth,' 'battle of Catraeth,' which would have proved the existence of such an illusion among the writers of the cycle.

Now that Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans is about to publish the text of the oldest-known MS. of the songs, I trust they and the other poems attributed to Haneirin may not have to wait long for the critical investigation of a competent Old Welsh scholar. May that scholar give us not only the best critical Middle Welsh text in his power, but side by side with it the nearest approximation he can conjecture to the Old Welsh original. If, in preparing that, he finds reason anywhere to suspect that the Welsh is translated from a lost Goidelic, I hope he will tell us. I do not suggest that it is so even in the case of one single song, but 'mwynvaur' makes it necessary to keep one's eyes open to the possibility, the Welsh dynasties of 596 had a large infusion of Goidelic blood, and I shall show elsewhere that 'Vgnach,' the contemporary of Taliessin and a bard at the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd, was, beyond any reasonable doubt, a Goidel on one side at least.

Let me add that the present paper must not be mistaken for a special study of the Raith song-cycle. In my investigation of the 'Harleian Genealogies' (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxi.), I came across a man whose son was killed at 'Catraeth.' The knowledge that 'Catraeth' was still unidentified irritated me. I said, 'It ought to be possible to identify it. I'll try: the name looks like "battle of Raeth"—don't I remember a Raith in Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*?' In a minute or two I had found Raith, and in a few minutes more I had found the *Cath Ratha* of Irish chronicles which established the identification and gave the date. I could

only interpolate the barest mention of the matter in the paper I was then writing, and it was obviously desirable to make it the subject of a separate communication. In preparing this, I looked over the English of the poems, certain other things struck me, and a few more which I did not see at the moment (for instance, the identity of some of the place-names) I was tempted to investigate specially: that is all.

TOPOGRAPHICAL VARIA—III

W. J. Watson

fortair, gwerthyr, verterae

In the *Antonine Itinerary* and elsewhere mention is made of a place of the Brigantes, called Verterae, identified as to site with the modern Brough-under-Stanmore in Westmoreland. As early Celtic initial *v* becomes in Welsh *gw*, Verterae has been equated by Sir John Rhys with Welsh *gwerthyr*, a fortress. In Gaelic, on the other hand, early initial *v* becomes *f*, *e.g.* Gaulish *vernos*, alder; Welsh *gwern*; Gaelic *fearna*. I have learned recently from Mr. Duncan Campbell, late editor of the *Northern Chronicle*, a Glenlyon man, that one of the ancient round forts in Glenlyon is called in Gaelic *an Fhortair*. In Glenisla parish, Forfarshire, on the right bank of the Isla, stands an ancient castle of the Ogilvies, named Forter, in Gaelic Fortair, while Forthar occurs in Kettle parish, Fife. There seems to be no doubt that in this *fortair* we have the Gaelic form of the old Verterae, meaning fortress. (Of course, notwithstanding the similarity in sound between fort, fortress, and fortair, there is no connection etymologically, the two first being derived from Latin *fortis*, strong.) From these, again, we cannot dissociate Fortingal, the Englished form of Gaelic *Fartairchill*, spelled Forterkil in 1240, situated hard by a great fortification, reputed but not yet proved to be a Roman camp. The last syllable of Fartairchill may be considered doubtful, but there is no reason why

it should not be simply *cill*, church, the meaning of the compound being Forter Church, or Church near the Forter. On this supposition Fartairchill is a Picto-Gaelic hybrid, of a type, however, which is natural and legitimate.

I have several times pointed out the tendency of certain terms to become as it were 'epidemic' in certain districts. There is no clear instance known to me of *fortair* occurring north of Spey. In Banff- and Aberdeen-shires, however, three or four places spelled Fortre appear on record, and in South Pictland *fortair* actually gave the name of the great district of Fortrenn, an oblique case of a nominative Foirtriu (*cf.* Eriu, Erenn, Ire-land), meaning the district of Forts. The men of Fortrenn, as has been pointed out by Sir John Rhys, were of old the Verturiones, the folk of the Forts. 'The designation Verturiones,' says Professor Rhys, 'admits of being explained by reference to the military works built in their midst by Agricola and Severus.' It is perhaps more likely that the name is due to the fort-building propensities of the natives themselves; certainly the district is rich enough in Celtic forts to justify the title.

céith, keith, cēto-n

The Old-Celtic *cēto-n*, wood, becomes in modern Welsh *coed*, *e.g.*, Argoed, On-wood, Woodside; Lichfield, in Welsh Llwyd coed, Grey wood, started from Lēto-cēton. Several continental names (*v.* Holder) show the same element. In Gaelic phonetics it should become *ciath*, genitive *céith*, just as *lētos*, grey, becomes *liath*, genitive *léith*. I think it is possible to explain some, at least, of our Keith names by reference to this old word, and it is at any rate worth while to consider them. Balmakeith, near Nairn, is certainly *not* to be so explained, for the Gaelic form of it is Baile Mac-Dhàidh, Davidson's Stead. Balkeith, near Tain, is in Gaelic at the present moment Baile na Coille, Wood-stead, which, as I pointed out long ago,[1] looks uncommonly like

[1] *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 34, where I have referred to Welsh *gwydd*, which seems less likely.

a translation from the Pictish. With regard to the others of which the Gaelic forms are known, it is to be noted that all are in the genitive case. We have (1) Dalkeith, in 1142 Dalkied, in Gaelic Dail-chéith; (2) Inchkeith, Gaelic Innis-chéith; (3) Keith, in Banffshire, Gaelic Baile-chéith; (4) Dun-chéith, a hill, in the parish of Dores, Inverness, meaning Plateau, Isle, Town and Fort of the wood respectively. In at least one instance of frequent occurrence we appear to have *cēton* in composition. Cormac in his Glossary explains *salchuait* as 'willow wood,' for, says he, *cóit* in Welsh means wood. This would give a primitive **salicēton*, which is represented in Scotland by the common *Saileachaidh*, Sallachy, Scots Sauchie-burn. We have probably another case in the stream-name Orchy, Glen-orchy, Gaelic *Urchaidh*, representing a primitive **are-cētia*, On-wood stream, River by the Woodside. It must be said that on the Perthshire side Orchy is *Urchadh*; 'Gleann-urcha nam badan,' says John MacGregor (1801); 'Glen Orchy of Woodclumps.' But I do not think that the difference in ending is fatal, and *nam badan* is significant.

As has been indicated above, *keith* in Anglicised forms of Celtic names is by no means always of the same origin. Indeed no sound in such forms needs closer watching than *th*, for *th* in Anglicised names may represent quite a variety of things, *e.g.* Gaelic *th*, *dh*, *t* slender, *t* broad, *bh* and *ch*. Thus the *keith* of Inverkeithing (see next note) is entirely different from that in Dalkeith.

cethin

The three following names appear to contain the same root:

Inbhir-cheitein, Inverkeithing.
Loch Ceiteirein, Loch Katrine.
Allt and Gleann Ceiteirlinn (Ceitlein on Maps), off Glen Etive.

With *ceitein* of the first may be compared Welsh *cethin* dun, dusky; *cf.* Welsh Bryncethin, Dark Hill. The Keithing is

opposed to the Peffer as dark to bright. It is not necessary to insist on referring 'dark' and 'bright' in stream names to the actual colour of the water; exposure, or the presence or absence of thick wood were doubtless among the circumstances that originally determined the name.

In *Ceiteirein*,[1] Katrine, we seem to have an extension of the root *ceit*, meaning the dark or gloomy place, with reference to its thickly wooded shores.

Ceiteirlinn seems of similar formation, *ceiteir* + ? *loinn*, locative of *lann*. The glen is narrow and deep with a north-west exposure.

All these seem to be thoroughly Pictish names. There are several other names that closely resemble them and may be connected, *e.g.* Catrine in Ayrshire; Caterline, Kincardineshire; Caterthun in Forfarshire.

eag

Eag, a notch, common in names of places, is as a rule easily recognised. In two instances, at least, the Anglicised form carries *n* of the Gaelic article in front, thus becoming Nigg.[2] Lately I came across an instance of its use certain enough, though by no means clear at first sight. In the parish of Duthil, to the east of Sloc-muic, there is a moor called on maps Forrigen, in Gaelic Foirigean (close *o*). The clue to this puzzling combination lies in the fact that the plain of Forrigen lies at the foot of a series of ridges containing many gullies and clefts, collectively called in Gaelic *na h-eagan*, the notches. The first part *for*, is simply our old friend *foter* (from *fo*, under), shortened into *for* (*far*) though aspiration of the *t*, as happens wherever we can get hold of it in Gaelic. Thus Forrigen means 'Under, at the foot of, the Notches.'

[1] I do not know whether Welsh *cethern*, fiends, furies, is connected with *cethin*, dusky. If it is genuine Welsh it might be possible to translate Loch Katrine 'Loch of the Fiends' (Goblins). This, of course, at once suggests connection with Coire nan Uruisgean, the Goblin Corry, a pleasant speculation, if we could be reasonably sure of it, for of old this corry was the great feature of Loch Katrine.

[2] *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 50.

Foter or fother becomes *far*,[1] as well as *for*, through the tendency to change an old *o* into *a*, of which many examples could be given. Keeping this in view, we shall readily see that Farragon Hill, south of Loch Tummel in Perthshire, is the same as Forrigen, and if further proof is required, reference to the map will show *Beinn Eagach*, the notched hill, a little to the north-east of it. Farragon Hill is the hill *of* Farragon, and Farragon itself is the moor under Beinn Eagach.

air : *ur*

The preposition *air*, on, before, is in Old Celtic *are*, which appears in such words as Are-morica, the district by the sea, and the British Are-cluta, Cluta-side, mentioned as the birthplace of Gildas. With us it appears in composition as *air* (*ear*) or *ur*, e.g. earball or urball (*air* + *ball*), a tail, urlar (*air* + *làr*), a floor. So also in place-names.

Erchless, near Beauly, is in Gaelic *Earghlais*, 'on the river Glass,' which describes its situation exactly. We may compare Are-cluta above.

Urchany, Beauly, near a small stream, and Urchany, Nairn, are both for *air-canach*, on the white stream or white place.[2] For Canach as a stream name, *cf.* Glencannich and Welsh Aber-canaid.

Urray, in Ross-shire, Gaelic *Urrath*, is for *air* + *ràth*, near the fort or earthwork, and in Gaul there is Are-dūnon with similar meaning.

Urquhart occurs in Ross, Inverness, Moray and Fife. The Inverness Urquhart appears in Adamnan's *Life of Columba* in the form Airchartdan, in present-day Gaelic *Urchardain*, and has been satisfactorily explained by Mac-Bain as *air* + *cardden*, Welsh for wood, brake; on-wood, woodside, synonymous with Argoed above-mentioned.

Erchite, near Inverness, is in Gaelic *Earchoid*, the

[1] Cf. Fodderletter, in Gaelic *Farleitir* ; Fettercairn, as I am informed, is still called by old people *Farcairn* in English.

[2] Cf. *Inverness Gaelic Society Transactions*, vol. xxv. p. 83.

second part of which is difficult, and may be compared with *Blàr-choighdh*, Blairwhyte, in the Black Isle.

Orchil, in Perthshire, is in Gaelic *Urchoill*, with same meaning as Urquhart, Woodside. There is also Errichel, near Aberfeldy. It is to be noted that so far as the second part of these goes, the names may be comparatively modern Gaelic or old Pictish: the word for wood (Welsh *celli*, grove, Gaelic *coille*, wood) being common to both branches of Celtic.

Urrard, in Perthshire, is similarly for *air + àrd*, On-height, or On-point.

Orchy has been already noted.

[NOTE.—Previous papers under this heading appeared in vol. v. pp. 148, 337.]

DUATHARACHD NA MARA

COINNEACH MACLEOID

THEIRTEADH gu 'm ' bu dual do isean an roin dol thun na mara,' 's tha e ceart cho dual do 'n Eileanach a shuil 's a chridhe 's a lamh a thionndadh ris a' Chuan Shiar. 'S gun tighinn air sin idir, ar leam gu bheil ni-eigin an litreachas na mara, doimhneachd is dian-theas is balbh-neart, nach 'eil idir cho tric ri 'm faotainn an litreachas na beinne. Theagamh gu bheil dà ni ag aobharachadh so. Ma ni sinn garadh-criche eadar beul-aithris agus lamh-aithris, eadar na baird a ta an diugh gun ainm-baistidh agus na baird sin a fhuair an cuid bardachd air a sgriobhadh 's air a clo-bhualadh fo 'n ainm 's 'nan latha fein, chi sinn gur beul-aithris, 's nach idir lamh-aithris, a' mhor-chuid de litreachas na mara. 'S tha bhuil air an aithris. Ma tha aon ni ann a ta comharrachadh nam bard sin a rinn ceaird, mar gu 'm b' eadh, de 'n bhardachd, is e braisead an cainnte. Tha na facail a' taomadh a mach, gu tric gun urram aon d' a chéile, mar eas a creig, 's ge dearbhadh soilleir e air feartan na Gaidhlig—cho sgaiteach torrach easgannach 's as urrainn di bhith—cha ghabh e aicheadh nach do dhioghail a'

bhardachd air anabarr na teangaireachd. Nis tha litreachas na mara saor o 'n smal sin, a chionn gu 'n do sheachainn na sar-bhaird an cuan mar cheann-bardachd. Ma 's e Mac Mhaighstir Alastair, cha do chuir an cuan riamh gu sein: e, mar rinn Allt an t-Siucair; cha lugha na Birlinn Chlann-Raonaill chuireadh gu sàl e, 's 'na bheachd-san cha robh anns a' chuan ach namhaid eadar-dha-phort, a bha dearbhadh fiughantas na birlinne is sgiobaireachd nan Raonallach.

Tha ni eile ann cuideachd a ta comharrachadh o chéile litreachas na mara agus litreachas na beinne. A reir beachd an t-sluaigh bu bheo-chreutair an Cuan Siar, le faireachd-ainnean daonda, 's le cumhachd thar comas naduir, thar comas aona chuid maith no uilc. Ach cha do shaoil neach riamh sin a thaobh na beinne; air a h-airdead 's air a maisead bu bheinn i iochd air n-achd, 's ged thachradh na daoine, cha charaicheadh na cnuic. Cha b' ionnan 's an cuan; bha siubhal-sìthe aice-se riamh; shiubhladh i ceithir ranna ruadh an domhain a dh' iarraidh uaigh a cloinne fein; 's cha robh geas no ealain anns na Sgoile Dubha nach robh dà thrian as an tri dhiubh aig a' chuan, 's an trian nach robh aice bha e glaiste an laimh dheis Righ nan Dùl. Cha b' urrainn, mata, gun bhuaidh bhi aig na beachdan so air an litreachas, 's a leigeadh fhaicinn gu robh, ged mholadh an sluagh Beinn Dorain le luathghair ard, sheinneadh iad na h-orain-mhara mar leanabain a' cagar-saich anns an dorchadas, 's an cladh am fagus. Ach gun dol na's fhaide steach anns a' chuis, is leoir a radh gu bheil gaol is eagal, beatha is bàs, subhachas is dubhachas, a' gleusadh a chéile anns a' chuantachas 's a' cantainn litreach-ais anns a bheil doimhneachd is dian-neart mar dhoimhn-eachd 's mar neart na mara fein. No ma dh' fhaodar a chur an doigh eile—an coimeas ri litreachas na mara, tha mhor-roinn de litreachas na beinne mar fhalluisg lasrach fraoich an coimeas ri gual goileach na ceardach.

Nis bhiodh na seann daoine bruidhinn air 'duatharachd' na mara, 's leis a sin bhathas a' ciallachadh gu robh nithe ceangailte rithe nach robh idir ceangailte ri nithe nadurra

mar tha clach no ùir, 's gu robh buadhan aice nach robh gu coitcheann eadhon aig Siol Adhaimh. Chunnaic sinn cheana gu 'm bu bheo-chreutair i am beachd an t-sluaigh, 's tha iomadh sgeul againn anns a bheil i 'ga nochdadh fein an riochd mnatha, 's a' cur eagal beath' is bàis air ceatharnaich na talmhainn. Ma's e Fionn MacCumhail, cha do chuireadh riamh ceart chuig' e gus an do thachair a' Mhuileartach Bhuidhe air, 's theagamh nach 'eileas fada cli 'san amharus gu 'm b' i Mhuileartach an Cuan Siar fein anns an fheoil. Co-dhiù, bha e 'san t-seanachas gu 'n tainig latha is bliadhna de sheachran-seilge air an Fheinn, 's fad na h-uine sin gu robh iad an cois na mara, ag itheadh bhairneach is fhaochag, gus an robh clachan a' chladaich cho lom ri peirceall tuirc. Is e 'n ceol bu bhinne chuala an Fheinn riamh fead Chaoilte an àine an là, a' toirt sanais daibh gu robh e mu dheireadh 's mu dhiù air lorg an fhéidh.

Ciad soraidh leis na faochagan,
Lamh sgaoilte leis na bairnich,
Chualas fead chaol chruinn chruaidh Chaoilte
Air taobh tuath Loinneachain.

Tha e nadurra gu leoir, mata, gu 'm biodh an Fheinn, 's iad a' cothachadh ris a' chuan, 'ga meas mar namhaid; is ni sam bith a ta 'na namhaid tha faireachdainnean aige; is ni aig a bheil faireachdainnean feadh an latha tha fuil is feoil air 'nuair thig an oidhche—co-dhiù, tha comas maith is uilc aige. Theagamh mata nach 'eil e tuaitheal idir a bhi smaointinn gu 'm b' i Mhuileartach no Mhuireartach Bhuidhe an Cuan Siar fein anns an fheoil. 'S gu cinnteach cha 'n fhacas riamh fo ghrein no fo ghealaich cailleach cho oillteil 's cho ceannsgalach rithe.

. . . . .
Bha h-aodann dubh-ghorm air dreach a'ghuail,
'S a deud cnapadach cnamh-ruadh.

Bha aon suil ghlumach 'na ceann
Bu luaithe na rionnag gheamhraidh,
Craobh mhìneach chas air a ceann
Mar choill sgràbach de 'n t-seana chritheann.

Cha 'n iongantach idir ged dh' fheuch Fionn r'a breugnachadh air falbh le cumhacha sìthe.

Bheireadh Mac Cumhail sid di gun diombadh,
Deich ciad chon air choimhlion éille—
Gabh an cumha is an còrr,
Deich ciad ubhlan dearg òir.

Ach an e gu 'n gabhadh ise ceannach no breugnachadh is lan cruinne de dh' òr 's de dh' airgiod aice an aigeal a' chuain ?

Buaidh na h-Eireann ged gheabhainn uile
Le h-òr, le h-airgiod, le h-ionmhas,
B'fhearr leam air bord air mo luing
Ceann Oscair is Dhiarmaid is Choirill.

'S cha robh tarruing lamh no seasamh chas aig na Fianna fo fhraoch na cailliche gus an do thachair i fein agus Fionn air a chéile.

Bha i 'gam frithealadh mu seach
Mar a ruitheas lann tro' lasair,
Gus an do thachair Mac Cumhail an aigh
'S a' Mhuileartach lamh ri lamh.

'S a reir an sgeoil a fhuair Iain Og Ile ann an Uibhist, ged bha chailleach treun bu treise àgh Fhinn,

'S bha taobh air a tholladh le guin,
Bha braon d' a fuil air an fhraoch,
Mharbhadh a' Mhuileartach leis an righ,
Ma mharbhadh, cha b' e marbhadh mìn.

Ach chuala sinn car eile 'ga chur 'san sgeul—gu robh feoil na cailliche mar uisge nan tonn, a' tàthadh ri chéile an deigh gach gearraidh.

'S co-ionnan a bhi gearradh stuadh
'S a bhi gearradh feoil na Fuath,
Mar a thàthas braon ri braon
Thàthadh feoil ri feoil 'na taobh.

Ach cha ruig sinn leas dol gu Iain Og Ile no gu Uibhist a dh' fhaotainn deireadh an sgeoil—tha e 'ga aithris fein a

latha 's a dh' oidhche. Cha mhaireann Fionn no Oisean, ach tha 'n Cuan Siar a sid fhathast, a' traghadh 's a' lionadh, ma chaill no nach do chaill a' Mhuileartach a ceann.

Ach tha aon ni ann as fheudar aideachadh a thaobh a' chuain, gu bheil i air fàs leasg 'na sean-aois, 's nach tric a chithear i nis an taobh a muigh d'a criochan fein. 'S tha sgeul air sin cuideachd. 'O chionn linntibh fada fichead,' arsa sgeulaiche Eigeach, 'bha daoine mar na faoileagan 's cha robh bàthadh orra, 's o Thraigh Bàin Mhùideart gu dol fodha na greine—'s a Thì Mhoir, 's fhada sin air falbh!—cha'n fhaighteadh gille-turuis do 'n chuan an geodha no 'n doimhne; 's ma bha gnothach aig mo ghaladhad air tir, rud is minic a bhà, cha robh air ach gu feumadh i fhein dol air a chionn. Ach an diugh tha 'n t-aigeal breac le suinn na cruinne, is b' olc an airidh mur faigheadh an cuan gillean-turuis 'nam measg.' 'S a reir an sgeoil, fhuair ise sin, gillean-turuis (no mar theirteadh riutha, leannana-cuain) cho sgairteil 's a shuidh riamh air tobhtaidh no chuir raimh tro' bhacaibh; 's cha'n 'eil geodha no caladh an eilean no 'n oirthir anns nach facas iad uair no uair-eigin a' toirt gu buil runta na mara. ''Nuair bha mi am ghlas-ghille,' arsa fear de shliochd-nan-ron an Uibhist a Tuath, 'fhuair sinn latha bha sid corp fir 'san tiurr-fheamann, 's o nach b' fhios duinn co e no co as da, bha sinn dol 'ga thiodhlacadh an oir a' chladaich, los nach biodh fad aig a' chuan dol 'ga iarraidh, na'n iarradh i e. Ach 'nuair bha sinn 'ga thogail, mhothaich sinn gu robh ìnean loma ban-dearg air, 's thuirt sinn ri gach a chéile gu'm b' ann de na h-urracha mora esan co-dhiù, 's gu 'n cuireamaid fo 'n ùir e gu h-eireachdail, mar bu dual, comhla ri Criosdaidhean eile an Teampull na Trianaid—rud a rinn. Am beul na h-oidhche, chunnacas bàta tighinn tro' na caoil, gun bhreid aodaich rithe, ged bha soirbheas aice nach iarrainn-se co-dhiù na b' fhearr—ach lom ruisgte mar bha, is i shiubhladh! Am prioba na sula bha a taobh ri laimrig, leum seisear ghillean aisde, gabhar suas gu Teampnll na Trianaid, 's aig Ni Maith tha fios dé bh' aca air an guaillibh 'san tilleadh.

Och ! och ! bheir an cuan a cuid fein a mach—is mairg a dhosanaicheadh rithe ! '

Bu nos riamh do luchd-tìre a bhi caoidh cor nan leannan-cuain, 's a bhi smaointinn nach biodh a' chùis idir cho goirt na'n d'fhuair iad bàs a' chinn-adhairt, is mar ris cadal-dàimh fo fhoid na tunga.

Righ ! nach robh thu 'n ad chadal
Ann an Clachan na Traghad,
Ann an Eaglais na Trianaid
Far an lionmhor do chairdean,
'S gu'm biodh deoir mo dhà shula
Mar an druchd glasadh t' fhàile.

Ach air theothad nan deur, cha d' fhuair 's cha'n fhaigh bron-mara furtachd.

'S tha luchd mo ghaoil 'nan truaghain,
An grunnd a' chuain gun charachadh,
'Gan reubadh leis na stuadhan,
'S 'gam bualadh ris na stallachan.

Mu choinneamh sin, is fheudar a radh, ged is iomadh leannan-cuain a thug sgriob air ais do Thir-nam-beo, nach cualas fear diubh riamh a' diomoladh Tire-fo-thuinn. ' Is fuar do leaba nochd, fhir mo ghaoil,' arsa bantrach ri taibhs a fir, 's e air tachairt rithe oidhche 'sa chladach. ' Cha'n fhuar 's cha theth,' ars' esan, ' ach direach mar dh' iarrainn, na'm faigheadh na dh' iarradh.' ' Mur fuar, a ghaoil,' ars' ise, ' is aonaranach co-dhiù.' ''Se tha sin naigheachd,' ars' esan—' air an aon sgeir rium tha sarghaisgich Lochlainn, baird na h- Eireann, sgeulaichean na h-Albann, 's an rud nach cuala iadsan no mise riamh, is eol do'n ron 's do'n eala sin.' ' Eudail mo chridhe,' ars' ise, ' nach aimideach sinne a' gul 's a' caoidh nam fear, is iadsan cho seanachasail sona 'san Tir-fo-thuinn ! ' ' Is fhior dhuit sin, a ghraidhein,' ars' esan, 's e dol as an t-sealladh.

Tha leannan-cuain eile tathaich Caolas Odair (no Odrum), eadar Heisgeir agus an dà Haisgeir, taobh siar

Uibhist, 's a reir a sgeoil-san [1] is àite bochd Tir-nam-beo seach Tir-fo-thuinn.

Ann an Caolas Od-odrum,
Far an caidleadh an ron,
'S far nach cluinnteadh guth duine,
Ach fuaim tuinne 's glog geoidh.

Mar mhuime 'g altrum a paisdean,
'S i 'gan taladh gu ciuin,
Gu bheil tulgadh nan cuantan
'Gar sior-luasgadh 'nar suain.

Tha 'n ron rioghail a' gusgal
'S an eala guileag r'a thaobh,
'S a' mhaighdeann-mhara 's i bruadar
Anns an uaigneas air laoch.

Tha na luingis a' seoladh
Le 'n cuid oigear tro 'n chaol,
An tòir air gaisge 's air gàbhadh,
Air ceol-gàire 's air gaol.

'S theid na luingis a bhathadh,
'S theid na h-armainn a dhìth,
'S cha luidh suain air an ainnir,
Gun a leannan, 'sa chill.

Och! an duthaich an eorna
Cha sguir comhrag no eug,
'S gu'm bi dòruinn chloinn-daoine
Leis an aois dol am meud.

Ach bidh mise 's mo leannan
Chaoidh 'nar flaitheas fo thuinn,
'S cha ruig airsneal no aois oirnn
Gus an saorar na suinn.

Is e dà thrian na dachaidh a bhi toilichte leatha, 's a reir coslais tha na leannana-cuain lan-riaraichte an dà chuid le 'n tuineadh 's le 'm muime. Ach ge taitneach creideasach an sgeul, is duilich a chlàradh air na mnathaibh—co-dhiù orra-san a chaill an ulaidh sin a fhuair an cuan. Cha b' ionmhainn riamh le mathair muime, 's tha i gun bhreith fhathast an té theireadh o iochdar a cridhe: 'is e mo dhurachd gu'm bi mo chuid leanaban na's sona le 'm

[1] Faodar a radh gu 'n d' fhuaradh an t-oran-sa 'na bhlaighean, 's gu 'n deachaidh seorsa de chàradh a dheanamh air—b' fhiach na blaighean sin.

muime, ma bhios i ann, na bha iad leamsa.' 'S cha'n ailis idir e air gaol nam ban ma chuir deagh bhanaltrumas a' chuain teothad 'nan deoir is goirtead 'nan cridhe nach cuireadh a h-an-iochd gu bràth. Tha 'n uaigh gionach gu leoir, ach cha 'n iarr 's cha 'n fhaigh i ach fuil is feoil is cnaimh; iarraidh is gheibh an cuan sin 's an t-iomlan, an duine eadar anam is chorp. Faodaidh e bhith 'Gu 'm bi dùil ri beul cuain ged nach bi ri beul uaigh,' ach 'nuair tha 'n dùil marbh, cha 'n 'eil anns a' bhron a their, 'Thug an uaigh mo mhac dhiom,' ach neoini an coimeas ris a' bhron sin a dh' fhaodas a radh, 'Thug an cuan diom gaol mo mhic.'

Ach ge mor fuath nam ban do 'n Tir-fo-thuinn, is motha na sin an gradh do na fir nach maireann, 's tha cuid diubh co-dhiù a thuinicheadh gu toileach anns a' chuan air sgàth luchd an gaoil.

Beul a' mhire 's a' cheol-gàire,
'S truagh nach mise bha ceart lamh riut,
An druim a' chuain no 'n iomall traghad,
Ge b' e àit am fag an lan thu;
Taobh ri taobh, a ghaoil, mar b' abhaist,
Taobh ri taobh, gun dùil ri t' fhagail,
Sior dhol suain, 's ar manran samhach—
Och, mo leon! cha chluinn mo ghradh mi,
'S bathadh stuadh air m' osna chraitich.

Ach bha iad ann a bha na bu rathala na i so, 's a fhuair na dh' iarr. Tha mu chiad gu leth bliadhna ann a nis o'n sheol Ailean Donn a mach a Steornabhaigh los ceangal posaidh a chur air fhein 's air ailleagan nan eilean, nighean Fir Scalpaidh 's na h-Earradh; ach eadar togail is leagail siuil fhuair an rosad-mhara greim air, 's 'nuair bu chòir dha, na 'n robh chòir ann, bhi cur na fainne air meur na suirghich, 's ann bha e 'na luidhe fo chobhar nan stuadh. 'S ma chuir so nighean Fir Scalpaidh gu bron, chuir e a bron gu seinn, 's gus an latha 'n diugh tha 'm bantrachas-cuain a' gul 's ag iargain 'na ceol.

M' achanaich-sa, Righ na Cathrach,
Gun mi dhol an ùir no 'n anart,
An talamh-toll no 'n aite-falaich,
Ach 'sa' bhad an deach thu, Ailein—
Ailein Duinn, ò hì, shiubhlainn leat.

Is shiubhail i leis. 'Nuair thainig àm a fuasglaidh, b' e toil a cairdean a h-aiseag thar a' chaolas gu aite-taimh a h-aithrichean; ach ged thug iad iomadh oidhirp air a' cheann-uidhe sin a thoirt a mach, bha'n Dàn 's an doineann 's an cuan 'nan aghaidh, 's an deireadh sgeoil choilion an cathadhmara iarrtus na té 'anns a' bhad an deach thu, Ailein.'

Sin mar a bhà 's a thà—gach ni thun a' chuain, 's tha eachdraidh nan Eilean sgriobhta.

Tha iomadh ni duatharach 'san doimhne a thuilleadh air na leannana-cuain. Theireadh na seann daoine nach robh 'beo air luim gun a shamhailt bhi fo thuinn,' crodh-mara, faol-mhara, cat-mara, nathair-mhara iochd air n-achd. Ach tha tri ann a tha de sgeul 's de dhuatharachd a' chuain os cionn chàich—an ron 's an eala 's a' mhaighdeann-mhara. Cha b' ann de fhior nàisinn na mara a h-aon diubh, ge fad' an céilidh fo thuinn. Na 'n robh chòir air a cumail, bu righrean air Lochlainn na roin an diugh; ach 'nan oige bha iad cho eireachdail am pearsa 's cho sgairteil an gniomh 's gu'n do ghabh am muime gràin na criche orra, 's cha bhiodh beo aice gus an toireadh i leagadh cinn is cridhe dhaibh. Thug i seachd laithean is seachd bliadhna ag ionn-sachadh na sgoile duibhe, 's 'nuair fhuair i na dh' fhoghnadh (is innleachd mnatha comhla ris !) cuirear a cuid dalta fo gheasaibh 's fo chroisibh 'nach b' iasg 's nach b' ainmhidh gu bràth, 's gu 'm biodh am miann-mara gu tir 's am miann-tire gu muir fhad 's a bhuaileadh tonn air tràigh.' Gus an latha 'n diugh mata, tha 'Clann Righ Lochlainn fo gheas-aibh' a' gusgal an cuid ciuil air na sgeirean, a' sior-ghearan mar a thà, 's a' sior-iargain mar a bhà—'s mar theireadh na seann daoine, 'Nach aithnicheadh tu air an dà shuil 's air an cluais-chiuil gu bheil fuil nan righrean anns gach féith.' 'S a reir an sgeoil bha e anns na geasaibh cuideachd gu'm biodh aca ri dol 'nan cruth nadurra fein tri uairean 'sa bhliadhna, ri laine gealaich, los gu'm biodh call 'ga urachadh 's bron 'ga mheudachadh dhaibh le bhi faicinn an dilse fo cheannas nan coimheach. 'S theirteadh na'm faiceadh tu

h-aon diubh anns a' cheart àm sin, gu'n toireadh tu gaol do chridhe dhise no dhasan, 's na'm biodh bainnsean idir air t'aire, gur h-e banais a bhiodh ann. Tha sliochd nam posadh sin anns na h-Eileanan fhathast; b'ann diubh Clann 'ic Codrum, 's theirteadh gu'm b'ann diubh cuideachd gach neach a b' fhearr guth-cinn no cleibh na chéile.

Is gann gu ruigear leas a radh nach 'eil e rathail ron a mharbhadh, 's nach robh buil no blàth riamh air sealgair a rinn a leithid. Faodaidh bard na beinne bhi seinn:

> Mharbhainn duit geoidh is roin is eala,
> 'S na h-eoin air bharra nan geug;

Ach na'm b' Eileanach e, bhiodh e na bu chneasda, co-dhiù, chuirteadh cneasdachd air 'aindeoin, mar is minic a thachair. Latha bha fir Chanaidh air tì seilge an Eilean-nan-ron, faicear cuilean anns an fheamainn is e dùr-amharc orra le dhà shuil mhora bhlàtha, mar gu'm biodh e dol a radh: 'Is ann de shliochd nan righrean mise, 's na marbhaibh an cuilean.' Ach mharbhadh an cuilean—le fear bu luaithe lamh 's bu chruaidhe cridhe na chéile—'s ma mharbhadh, chaidh gaoth is fairge gu boile, 's bha na fir an sin gun seasamh chas aca, 's iad mar na bairnich a' greimeachadh ris na creagan. Arsa fear a' chridhe chruaidh, eadar dà sgal gaoithe, 'Cha 'n ann gun aobhar a thainig so, fheara—tha dà phrostanach 'nar cuideachd—is fheudar gu bheil diomb air Moire 's air a Mac.' Air sàil an fhacail ghrad-rugadh air an dithis fhear, 's cha bhiodh air ach gu feumadh iad an dara cuid a thoirt mar cheannach do'n chuan, am beatha no an creideamh. Ach is e gach ni fo 'n ghrein a dheanadh an dà shaobhaire ach dealachadh ri 'm beatha, 's b' e deireadh na cùise gu 'n deachaidh am baisteadh le chéile, an lodan sàile, a steach do 'n Eaglais Naoimh Chaitligich. Ach cha do shèimhich sin gaoth no fairge, 's an treas latha thuirt am fear bu shine 's bu ghlice anns a' chuideachd: ''Se so mo bheachd fhein, fheara, nach ann de 'n chrabhadh mort no marbhadh, 's na robh an cuilean-roin beo fhathast,

dh' fhaoidte gu robh sinne na bu rathala na tha sinn.' Bhoidich an sin gach fear diubh, na 'm faigheadh e bheatha leis an trath-sa, nach marbhadh 's nach màbadh e ron gu bràth tuilleadh. An oidhche sin bha na fir 'nan tighean fein an Canaidh.

Ma tha duatharachd an eachdraidh an roin, tha duatharachd is còrr an eachdraidh na h-eala. Anns na sgeulachdan theirear 'nighean an dà luan deug' rithe, 's bhiodh na seann daoine cur beachd air so: 'nuair bhiodh fàs air a' ghealaich gu' m biodh bainead air an eala, 's 'nuair bhiodh ra-dorcha air a' ghealaich gu 'm biodh dath-dorcha air an eala. Ach biodh sin mar a bhitheas, is nighean righinne co-dhiù an eala. Anns na laithean duatharach, a reir an sgeoil, bha dà righinn ann a bha cho àlainn 's nach b' urrainnear a radh co bu ghrainne-mullaich dhiubh, 's an té eile làthair; 's b' e deireadh na cùise gu 'n do chuir an dara té an té eile fo gheasaibh, 'i shiubhal gu bràth o àird gu h-àird an riochd eoin, sgiamhach air muir, clibeach air tir, binn-ghuthach fo ghealaich, balbh tosdach fo ghrein'—'s tha 'n eala fo na geasaibh sin fhathast. Theagamh gu bheil mìneachadh an sgeoil r' a fhaotainn anns an t-sean-fhacal, 'Farmad na greine ris a' ghealaich.' Co-dhiù, tha e 'san t-seanachas, 'nuair a shìolaidh an Dile-Ruadh gu robh ghealach lan, 's gu robh i cho gile an oidhche sin 's gu faiceadh duine calg na muice-creige 'na chois, na 'm biodh calg innte. Chuir so a' ghrian, 's i 'na cruban anns a' chuan, gu boile 's gu feirg. 'Eiridh mi,' ars' ise, 'ge fada mu's blais an t-eun an t-uisge, 's cuiridh mi grad-smal air an ré 's air na reultaibh uile.' Rinn i sin, 's ma rinn, chaill a' ghealach trian d'a solus, 's tha e g'a dìth chuige so. Theagamh mata gur h-e an trian sin a ta againn an riochd na h-eala, nighean an dà luan deug, 's i binn-ghuthach fo ghealaich ach balbh tosdach fo ghrein.

Tha iomadh sgeul air an eala anns na h-Eileanan, 's iad uile 'g aithris gu bheil i tiamhaidh 'na beatha is aonaranach 'na bàs, 's gur h-e a rogha-ciuil a bhi tàladh nan leannan-cuain air na sgeirean. Co nach cual' iomradh air an eala leointe

shnamh a Eirinn gu h-I, 's a fhuair fasgadh is leigheas an sin ?

Latha chaidh Calum-cille mach
Anns a' mhadainn mhoich,
Faicear an eala, guile ! guile !
An eala bhan air an t-snamh
'S guileag bhàis aic',
Guile ! guile !

An eala bhan 's i leointe leointe,
An eala bhan 's i breoite breoite,
Guile ! guile ! 's an dà shealladh oirr',
Guile ! guile ! 's an dà mhanadh oirr',
Beath' is bàs,
Guile ! guile !

Cia as do shnamh, eala bhan,
Arsa Calum-cille mo ghraidh—
A h-Eirinn mo shnamh, guile ! guile !
O 'n Fheinne mo chradh, guile ! guile !
Guin a' bhàis,
Guile ! guile !

Eala bhan, eala na h-Eireann,
Is cobhartach mise do'n eigneach,
Suil bhlàth Chriosd air do chradh,
Ortha na seirc 's an t-sior-ghraidh
'Gad dheanamh slan,
Guile ! guile !

Eala bhan na h-Eireann, guile ! guile !
Cha bhi beud ort, guile ! guile !
A bhaintighearna na linne, guile ! guile !
A bhaintighearna na tuinne, guile ! guile !
Do Ios' a' ghloir,
Guile ! guile !

Eadar-dha-sgeul, nach fhaodadh e bhith gu bheil snamh is leon is leigheas Eala na h-Eireann a' riochdachadh uidhearachd ar sluaigh o dhoillearachd na Feinne gu soillearachd an t-Soisgeil ? B' fhurasda leudachadh air a' chùis, ach cha bhuin e do ar seanachas 'san àm.

Nis tha fios againn co as a thainig an ron 's an eala, ach co as idir a thainig a' mhaighdeann-mhara ? Cha dhuilich

sin innseadh mata. Bha maighdeann ann uair 's rachar latha de na laithean gu fuaran a dh' òl dibhe. Ars' ise, 's i 'ga faicinn fein anns an fhior-uisge, 'Cha'n 'eil fhios a bheil té eile an Albainn cho briagha riumsa?' 'Nach aimideach thusa, ghraidh nam ban,' ars' a muime, 's i air tighinn gu fàilidh air a culaibh, 'ge mor Alba, is motha 'n saoghal.' 'Ma's motha, cha 'n fhearr,' ars' a' mhaighdeann, ''s co-dhiù, chunnaic mise sin, gach ridir as fhearr na chéile a ceithir ranna ruadh an domhain, 's bhoidich is bhriathraich gach fear diubh nach fac' iad mo leithid aon chuid rompa no as an deigh.' 'Faodaidh sin a bhith,' ars' a muime, 'ach ge mor an domhan, is beag e seach an fhairge, agus is iomadh fios-freagairt a ta 'n cleith 'na doimhne.' An oidhche sin fhein chaidh a' mhaighdeann gu dubh-sgoilear ainmeil, 's ars' ise, 'Fhir na sgoile duibhe, thoir dhomh eolas na mara.' 'Ni mi iasg dhiot,' ars' esan. 'Cha'n fhoghainn e,' ars' ise, 'dh' fheumainn suil mnatha 'nam cheann, los mi dh' fhaicinn 's a dh' aithneachadh maise mo sheorsa.' 'Cuiridh mi,' ars' esan, 'ceann mnatha air an iasg.' 'Cha'n fhoghainn e,' ars' ise, 'dh' fheumainn cridhe mnatha 'nam chliabh, los gaol a thabhairt 's a ghabhail, na'm biodh luchd-gaoil ann.' 'Miann do chridhe dhuit,' ars' esan—'s gabhar le chéile thun a' chuain. Riamh o 'n oidhche sin chitear baintighearna òr-bhuidh, le earball eisg, a' snamh nan tonn 's a' sior-iarraidh an ni sin nach gabh faotainn, té as àille na i fein. 'S ma 's fior am fathann, ged fhuair i eolas na mara, cha d' fhuair i riamh sonas 'na luib, 's 'nuair bheir i gaol, is ann do fhuil bhlàth, 's cha 'n ann idir do fhuil fhuair.

Tha duatharachd na mara cho farsaing 's cho domhain rithe fein, 's cha bhiodh an sgeul iomlan gun iomradh a thoirt air na fearra-longa,[1] mar theirteadh riutha, 's air na h-Eileana-sgeoil. Is maith an long a bheir a mach an caladh as an d' fhalbh i, ach fada roimh mhithich bhiodh suil nam ban a' sireadh a' chuain, 's a' faotainn sgeoil uaipe cuideachd air cor nam fear. Na'm faicteadh fearra-long is solus dearg

[1] Feall-long?

oirre, bu mhanadh air a' bheo e ; na'm faicteadh té is solus geal oirre, bu mhanadh air a' mharbh e.

Chunnaic mi fearra-long a raoir,
Solus oillt is éig 'na crann,
'S thuig mi gu robh m' aona mhac og
Fuar fo spoig a' chuain ud thall.

'S ma dh' fhaodar earbsa chur an suilean an t-sluaigh, is iomadh uair a thug na bantracha-cuain fein sgriob anns an fhearra-luing, 's a chiteadh am beul na h-oidhche :

Fearra-long mhor a steach an caolas,
Bean 'na toiseach a' sior-chaoineadh,
Bean 'na deireadh a' sior-ghlaodhaich,
Bean air tobhtaidh a' sior-ghaoladh.

Nach 'eil ni-eigin taitneach anns an smuain gur h-i an long a ta giulan fios-bàis chum nam ban a ta cuideachd 'gan aiseag troimh 'n chaolas a sheinn an tuiridh os cionn a' mhairbh ? Ach cha'n aobhar ioghnaidh idir e—cha bu mhotha riamh gairge na mara na a teò-chridheachd. 'S ma tha i teò-chridheach, an co-lorg sin tha i cruaidh ceart. Cha b'ann aon uair no dà uair, anns na laithean duatharach, a chaisg i eucoir nan Gall, 's a dh' fhogair i 'n ciontach d'on àite sin a bha freagarrach do dhroch ghiulan. ' B' fhurasd aithneachadh air an fhearra-luing,' theireadh na seann daoine, ' na'm b' e sid a ceann-gnothaich—bhiodh i daonnan air theinidh.' Cha'n 'eil cho ro-fhada o'n chunnacas i air a' cheart ghnothach 's anns a' cheart bheairt sin, agus so an sgeul mar fhuaradh i o fhear de 'n dithis a chunnaic :

Bha sinn direach a' greimeachadh air fasgadh an fhear-ainn, 'nuair chunnaic sinn neul boillsgeach, mar gu 'm b' ann os cionn Chaol Muile. Arsa mo ghoistidh rium fhein, 'Cuiridh mise mo chluas air a' gheall gur h-e th' ann Tobar -Mhoire ris na speuran, 's gu dearbh cha b' iongantach ged bhitheadh, 's na soluis aca muigh air na sràidean fein.' Ach 'san fhacal thainig ise—oir 's i fhein a bh'ann—timchioll Rudh' Airdna-murchann, 's cuirear a ceann air Eige—'s a Thi Mhoir, 's i dh' fhalbhadh ! 'S bha sinne 'nar dithis 's ar n-anail 'nar n-uchd, 's ar cridhe leum as a chochall, is fios is cinnt againn

mur bathadh sàl gu loisgeadh teine. Ach, eudail nam fear, cha robh an uair air tighinn—'s am prioba na sula bha bhéist seachad oirnn, 's i 'na caora dearga o 'toiseach gu 'deireadh, o 'bord-uisge gu barr a croinn. Is Ni Maith 'gar seunadh, bha fear fada caol dubh oirre, is fidheall 'na dhorn, 's e sior-chluich 's a' leum 's a' lasganaich—agus, O Mhoire 's a ghraidh, b' uamhasach fhein an raoiceil a bha gu h-iosal. Is c'àit an tug i oirre 'na dheigh sin ? Aig an t-Sealbh tha brath—ach an sealladh mu dheireadh fhuair sinne dhith, bha i mach an Caol Canach, 's an Cuan Siar fo 'sroin.

Cha lean sinn i na's fhaide an trath-sa, ach gu cinnteach is iomadh uair a b' fhiach i leantainn, 'nuair bhiodh teine nan eucorach as, 's a guala gile mar a' ghrian, 's i deanamh airdeachd gu Tir nan Og, no gus na h-Eileana-sgeoil eile, an t-Eilean Uaine, an t-Eilean Sorcha, Innse Geala nan Ra-soluis, Eilean nam Fear Fial Fionn. Gun teagamh tha eileanan eile ann nach 'eil idir cho taitneach riu sin—Eilean na Fiacais, far an teid luchd nan teanga fada ; Eilean na Duibhre, far an teid farmad is droch shuil ; is Rocabarraidh fo Thuinn, taobh siar Bharraidh, far a bheil na h-alla-bheistean mora a' sior-dheilbh uilc an aghaidh a' chinne-dhaonna. Mar dh' eirich do bhrataich Shil-Leoid, thainig Rocabarraidh ris dà uair cheana, 's an treas uair

> Nuair thig Rocabarraidh ris,
> Is dual gu 'n teid an saoghal a sgrios.

Thathas ag radh gu bheil cuid de na h-ollamhan a' faotainn a nis lorg lacha, no theagamh gur h-e lorg geoidh, thun nan Eilean-sgeoil sin, 's a' toirt h-Irt mar ainm air a' mhor-roinn diubh. Ach biodh iad ceart no cearr, is diomhain an saothair. B' ann de 'n chridhe, 's cha b' ann de 'n fhradharc, na h-Eileana-sgeoil ; 's ged bhuailteadh Tir nan Og am maireach, an earar bhiodh Eilean-sgeoil eil' ann na b' fhaide mach 'sa' chuan, 's cha tig an latha chi suil no shaltras cas tir ar n-ionndrainn.

Nis na'n ceadaicheadh an duilleag, ni nach ceadaich, b' fhurasda shoilleireachadh mar tha beatha 'n Eileanaich, o bhreith gu bhàs, air a comhdach, mar gu'm b'eadh, le

duatharachd na mara. Theirteadh gu'm biodh lùth is aigneadh an duine a reir an t-siuil-mhara bh'ann 'nuair a rugadh e, 's gu'm biodh rath an lionaidh no rosad an traghaidh air fhad 's bu bheo e. 'S ma thachair gu robh a' ghealach a reir a' chuain 'san àm, bha ceann cinnt air a' chùis an sin.

Rugadh Calum-cille mo ghraidh
Ri cuan an lionaidh,
Ri gealach an fhàis,
'S b' e 'n t-ailleagan e fein.

'S a reir an sgeoil, 'nuair rugadh Iudas bha cuan a' tràghadh 's gealach a' cnàmh, 's a thaobh 's gu robh, bha ra-dorcha air a bheatha-san riamh. Theirteadh cuideachd gu'n d'rugadh Pilat ri marbh-shruth na contraigh—'s nach robh bhuil air? Cha b' fhios da riamh dé'n taobh a ghabhadh e, 's cha robh seasmhachd 'na ghniomh no earbsa ri chur 'na fhacal. Ach cha'n e aon chéilidh no dà chéilidh a chuireadh crioch air an sgeul sin, 's a leigeadh ris duinn mar tha ceol-gàire is crabhadh an t-sluaigh, am beul-aithris 's an gnath 's am beachdan gu leir, air an neulachadh le duatharachd na mara. B' e 'n ceart ioghnadh e nach robh aignidhean an t-sluaigh air an tur-shaobhadh 's air an crubadh gu neoini fo cheannas na duatharachd sin. Ach 'se theirteadh 'gur h-ann air comhairle na gaoithe tha 'n cuan,' 's a chionn 's gu robhas a' creidsinn an co-lorg sin 'gur h-ann air comhairle Righ nan Dùl tha ghaoth,' bha ni-eigin an inntinn an t-sluaigh a bha cumàil lamhachas-laidir na mara o thighinn gu cearrachas-laidir air a taobh-se, 's gu traillealachd air an taobh-san. Ach 'na dheigh sin 's d' a aindeoin, is e toiseach is deireadh an sgeoil gu'm b' ann 's gur h-ann de 'n chuan beatha 'n Eileanaich, 's ma tha cluas na h-oige fosgladh, gu bheil cluas na h-aoise dunadh, ri a gàir.

Tha 'n ceo 's an druchd,
Tha 'n druchd 's an ceo,
Tha 'n ceo 's an druchd
An suil mo ghraidh,
An suil mo ghraidh.

A Thì dh' fhosgail an t-suil og,
Duin i 'n nochd 'n clo a' bhàis,
An clò a' bhàis.

Tha gàir a' chuain,
A nuall 's a gàir,
Tha gàir a' chuain
An cluais mo ghraidh,
An cluais mo ghraidh.
A Thì bheairtich an ùr-long,
Stiuir i 'n nochd thar tonn a' bhàis,
Thar tonn a' bhàis.'

DRUIDS AND MOUND-DWELLERS

DAVID MACRITCHIE

IN his interesting monograph on the *Fairy-Faith*, recently published,[1] Mr. W. Y. Evans Wentz refers to the theory that the existence of that faith is largely to be accounted for by the existence of the druids. As Mr. Wentz's treatise formed the starting-point of a paper of mine which appeared in the October (1909) number of the *Celtic Review*,[2] wherein, for reasons of space, the 'Druid Theory' was very briefly noticed, it seems desirable to discuss that theory at some length in these pages, and to repeat in full the synopsis of it given by Mr. Wentz. It is in these words :—

'The Druid Theory to account for fairies is less widespread [than those denominated 'Naturalistic' and 'Pygmy']. It is that the folk-memory of the Druids and their magical practices is alone responsible for the Fairy-Faith. The first suggestion of this theory seems to have been made by Patrick Graham, in his *Sketches Descriptive of Picturesque Scenery on the Southern Confines of Perthshire*, published in 1806. Alfred Maury in *Les Fées du Moyen-Age*, published in 1843 at Paris, appears to have made liberal use of Patrick Graham's suggestions in setting up his theory that the *fées* or fairy-women of the Middle Ages are due to a folk-memory of druidesses. Maury seems to have forgotten that throughout pagan Britain and Ireland, much more important in studying fairies than Celtic Europe during the Middle Ages, druids rather than druidesses

[1] Rennes, Imprimerie Oberthur, 1909.

[2] Pp. 160-176.

had the chief influence on the people, and yet despite this fact Irish and Welsh mythology is full of stories about fairy-women coming from the Otherworld : nor is there any proof, or even good ground for argument that the Irish fairy-women are a folk-memory of druidesses, for if there ever were druidesses in Ireland they played a subordinate and very insignificant *rôle*. As in the case of the Pygmy Theory we maintain that the Druid Theory also is a partial and inadequate one. It discovers a real anthropomorphic influence at work on the outward aspects of the Fairy-Faith and illogically takes that to be the origin of the Fairy-Faith.' [1]

This last sentence, it will be seen, begs the whole question ; because it assumes that those who regard the tales of the *daoine-sidhe* as a memory of the druids are radically in error, which is the point at issue. If the view taken by the advocates of that theory should prove to be correct, there would be no anthropomorphism in the case.

In order that Mr. Wentz's position may not be misunderstood, I have placed his synopsis before the reader ; although several of his statements appear to me to require correction. But instead of controverting these in detail I shall go on to adduce considerations which tend to support the opinions of the other side. In doing this I cannot avoid introducing at the outset the well-worn subject of the druids ; with regard to which, however, there is still a great deal to be said, especially from the point of view of Gaelic chronicle and tradition.

The conventional idea of a druid is aptly sustained by the dignified and venerable personages, with long beards and flowing white robes, who figure in the opera of *Norma*. For this conception, there is no doubt a certain amount of authority. Druids, nevertheless, are often represented to us under aspects which do not suggest either dignity or veneration. O'Curry [2] speaks of them as 'little better than conjurers . . . sorcerers, and rain-doctors, who pretend to call down the storms and the snow, and frighten the people with the fluttering wisp and other childish charms.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. xix-xx.

[2] *Manuscript Materials of Ancient History of Ireland*, 1861.

They divined by the observation of sneezing and omens, by their dreams after holding a bull-feast, or chewing raw horseflesh in front of their idols, by the croaking of their ravens and chirping of tame wrens, or by the ceremony of licking the hot edge of bronze taken out of the rowan-tree faggot. . . . The chief or Arch-Druid of Tara is shown to us as a leaping juggler with ear-clasps of gold and a speckled cloak; he tosses swords and balls into the air.' Dr. Whitley Stokes defines *drùth* as denoting a wizard, buffoon, and jester.[1] Professor Kuno Meyer takes the last of these terms as the equivalent of *drùth*;[2] and the word is also thus translated by Dr. Hayes O'Grady in his *Cath Mhucrama*, at which battle, we are told, 'Maccon proceeded to confer with his jester, Dodera by name, whose precise origin was of the *corca Luighe*.'[3] Some of these references, particularly the description of the chief Druid of Tara, denote a caste closely resembling the jougleurs and mountebanks of the Middle Ages, and are certainly not antagonistic to the theory broached by Dr. John MacCulloch in 1824, that modern gypsies are descended from the druids; it being understood, for the moment, that only the question of common characteristics is considered. Gaelic accounts agree in making the druids fortune-tellers, necromancers, and professors of occult science; and that they understood hypnotism is evident from their use of 'the druidic sleep' and 'illusion.'

[1] *Revue Celtique*, t. xvi.: Paris 1895. 'Dil, daughter of Lugmannair, eloped from the land of the Men of Falga (the Isle of Mann) with Tulchainde, Conaire's wizard.' The Gaelic is *Tulchainde drai Conaire* (p. 62). Stokes adds: 'His druid (or rather chief buffoon) Tulchinne or Taulchinne is described in LU. (*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*) 92*b*-93*a*.' Again (p. 74): 'Tollchenn, the jester of Enna Cennselach or of Eochaid, Enna Cennselach's son, fell in a battle against the Saxons on the Ictian Sea [the English Channel], when Niall of the Nine Hostages was mortally wounded by Eochaid's hand [A.D. 405, *Four Masters*]. The jester's head was cut off, and together with it the helmet.' The Gaelic is *Tollchend, druth Enna Cendselaig*. A druidess is thus referred to (p. 34): 'Dreco, daughter of Calmael son of Cartan, son of Connath, was a druidess and a female rhymer.' The Gaelic is *bandrui agus banliccerd*. Another version describes her as 'a wizard and a good poet' (*drui agus degfili*). She was also a poison-monger.

[2] *Revue Celtique*, 372-397, t. xiii.: Paris, 1892.

[3] *Silva Gadelica*, Irish Text, p. 311; Eng. trans., p. 349.

The Scottish mediæval legislation directed against those who practised 'charming' and other 'abused sciences' certainly points to a survival of druidic ideas.

The word 'druid' (for the capital letter may be dispensed with) is, however, so comprehensive that it is somewhat difficult to know when it ought to be held as solely applicable to the magic-workers of a special race. Skene furnishes us with illustrations of this complication. He cites two tracts in the *Leabhar Breac* in which the Magi of the New Testament are called druids; and he quotes the well-known line attributed to St. Columba, '*My* Drui is Christ the Son of God.' Then, again, there is mention of Drostan the *druid* of the Picts, and of Broichan the *magus* or *druid* of King Brude. St. Patrick is also described as in conflict with the *druids* or *magi* of King Laogaire; and the saint prays to be protected

> 'Against snares of demons,
> Against black laws of heathenry,
> Against spells of women, smiths, and druids.'

'He fought against hard-hearted druids,' is said of the same saint in an ancient hymn; while other druids of the Irish Picts are referred to as 'demon-like.'

> 'Necromancy and idolatry, illusion,
> In a fair and well-walled house;
> Plundering in ships, bright poems,
> By them were taught;
> The honouring of *sreod* and omens,
> Choice of weather, lucky times,
> The watching the voice of birds
> They practised without disguise.'

Skene further shows that the son of a druid did not always follow his father's profession, for he quotes Adamnan who 'tells of a robber who dwelt in the island of Colonsay and was in the habit of crossing to Mull and stealing the young seals which were bred for the use of the monastery of Iona, and whom he terms Erc Mocudruidi, or Erc the Druid's

son."[1] That the son of a druid should be a thief seems to point to a lack of moral teaching on the part of the father. But the stealing of young seals is, from the moral standpoint, a venial offence when compared with the picture given in the *Book of Fenagh* of the obscene behaviour of the druids of Leitrim and Cavan, referred to in a very suggestive connection by Dr. J. H. Todd in his Introduction to *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill.*[2]

Whatever be the origin—Accadian, Turanian, or what not—of that blend of science and empiricism which constituted the system of the druids of these islands, it is evident that trickery of one kind or another entered largely into its composition. This fact is clearly illustrated by an incident in which an Irish druid, Mailgenn, played a leading part. The wrath of Mailgenn and his brother-priests was aroused against Cormac Mac-Art, King of Ireland, because Cormac refused to worship their idols. According to some accounts, Cormac's offence was that he declined to reverence the druids themselves. The two versions are not irreconcilable, because priests of any kind are always ready to take to themselves the reverence paid to their deity. The particular deity whom Cormac objected to worship was the great wooden idol known as the *Crom Cruach* that, all resplendent with ornamentation of gold and silver, stood in the plain of Moy Slacht, in County Cavan, surrounded by twelve lesser deities adorned with brass. These appear to have been also made of wood; but the story suggests that the term 'druid circle,' as applied to megalithic circles, may not be so much amiss as modern scientific archæologists are inclined to think. In any case, the *Crom Cruach* was a mighty god. Whether he was the same as the *Crom Dubh*, and what is the significance of *crom* in this connection, I do not know. 'The crooked maggot' is one interpretation; whatever that may mean. Sir Samuel Ferguson, in his *Lays of the Western*

[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 115: Edinburgh, 1877; see pp. 110-121 for other references, the authorities being all carefully given.

[2] London, 1867, p. cxxii, footnote 2.

Gael, thus describes Cormac's contemptuous attitude towards the Crom :—

'"Crom Cruach and his sub-gods twelve,"
Said Cormac, "are but carven treene;[1]
The axe that made them, haft or helve,
Had worthier of our worship been.

'"But He who made the tree to grow,
And hid in earth the iron-stone,
And made the man with mind to know
The axe's use, is God alone."'

That the idols whom they revered, or wished people to revere, should be spoken of in such terms was too much for the druids of Cavan. So, accordingly, they met in daily convocation and, with many heartfelt curses, turned the magic pebbles—the *clocha breca*, or speckled stones—from left to right, in order that their evil wishes might be duly fulfilled.

'They loosed their curse against the king;
They cursed him in his flesh and bones;
And daily in their mystic ring
They turn'd the maledictive stones,

'Till, where at meat the monarch sate,
Amid the revel and the wine,
He choked upon the food he ate,
At Sletty, southward of the Boyne.'

That is how the death of Cormac at Sletty, or Cletech, is described to us in sonorous numbers by Sir Samuel Ferguson. But, although his death was actually brought about by Mailgenn the druid, the method employed was much more direct and practical than that of invocation and priestly rites. It was simply this. A fish-bone was designedly kneaded into some bread which was placed on the royal table, for the king's use, and the bone stuck in Cormac's throat and choked him.[2]

[1] This denotes that all the thirteen idols were of wood, like the idols of the Lapps and Samoyeds; but possibly Sir Samuel Ferguson has merely assumed this to have been the case.

[2] See *Silva Gadelica*, Eng. Trans., p. 289; also the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, fol. 41*b* (as quoted by Petrie, *Round Towers*, pp. 96, 98).

According to the *Four Masters*, Cormac's death resulted from 'the enchantment (*siabrad*) which Mailgenn the druid practised upon him, after Cormac had turned against the druids, because he worshipped God rather than them.'[1] From the other account, just quoted, we have seen that the so-called 'enchantment' was merely a malicious and successful trick. But the most striking statement in the *Four Masters* version is that Cormac was killed by the druids 'because he worshipped God *rather than them*.' What had roused the murderous hate of those heathen priests was the fact that their sway was imperilled by the conversion of the king; and they felt themselves already beginning to slip from the exalted, semi-divine position which they had arrogated to themselves. In this passage, the Crom and his twelve sub-gods are passed over in silence; the worst phase of the offence was the refusal to acknowledge the supernatural character of the druids.

It will be noticed that Mailgenn is said to have accomplished his end by means of *siabrad*. This is a significant word, for it denotes the form of magic employed by the *siabhras*, or *daoine-sidhe*, otherwise the *Tuatha De Danann*. Now, there is a passage in which this association between Mailgenn the druid and the *siabhras*, or *Tuatha De Danann*, is brought much more closely together. The passage referred to occurs in the *Senchas na Relec*, or History of the Cemeteries. It does not appear in the twelfth-century *Leabhar na h- Uidhre*, of which the *Senchas na Relec* forms a part, but in 'a second copy of the same tract [*i.e.* the *Senchas*], preserved in an ancient vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 3, 17.'[2] In this manuscript the death of King Cormac is also chronicled. But it is there stated that he was killed by 'the Siabhras, *i.e.* the Tuatha De Danann, for they were called Siabhras.' From this statement, one is bound to infer (1) that the chroniclers

[1] See Dr. Whitley Stokes at p. 512 of *Folk-Lore* (London, D. Nutt), December 1892.

[2] See Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 96.

differed as to the authorship of the death of Cormac, or (2) that the chroniclers did not differ, and that, consequently, the Siabhras, or Tuatha De Danann, were the same people as the druids. In other words, that the druids were *daoine-sidhe*, or mound-people.[1]

Here, then, if nowhere else, the supporters of what Mr. Wentz calls 'the druid theory to account for fairies' will find their opinions strongly confirmed, and in direct words. But there is also much indirect evidence of the same kind. Mention has been made, for example, of King Conaire's druid, jester, or buffoon, named Tulchinne, who eloped with Dil, the daughter of Lugmannair.[2] Now, we are further informed with regard to this druid Tulchinn that 'there was friendship between him and the Morrigan.' Dr. Whitley Stokes, who supplies these statements, adds the explanation: 'The Morrigan was one of the Tuatha dé Danann.'[3] Thus, in this case, a druid appears as the intimate friend of a *bean-sidh*, or hillock woman. The same association is seen when we consider the habitations assigned to druids and to hillock folk.

The rude, bee-hive huts which, in the islands of St. Kilda and Boreray, are traditionally known as 'druids' houses,' are closely related to, and are sometimes identified with the earth-covered structures of stone which are attributed to the *daoine-sidhe*. To outward appearance mounds (*sidhe*), these latter are, in many cases, found to be stone buildings of the same primitive order of architecture as the bee-hive huts; and indeed are actually such huts heaped over with earth and stones, and covered with green turf. In the course of an instructive monograph on *Beehive Houses, Duns, and Stone Circles*, Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, M.A., cites two references of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to druids' houses. 'A reference to bee-

[1] In the preceding number of the *Celtic Review* (October 15, 1909), there is a special reference, at p. 167, to the meaning of *sid*, or *sidh*, and its compounds.

[2] See p. 259, *ante*, note 1.

[3] *Revue Celtique*, t. xvi., pp. 62-63: Paris, 1895.

hive structures,' he observes, 'is almost certainly intended in the words of Martin (*c.* 1695) speaking of Skye, where none, however, is said now to exist. After describing some "earth houses," he writes: "There are several little stone houses built above ground capable only of one person, and round in form. They are called *Tey-nin-druinich, i.e.* Druids' House." ' Mr. Mackenzie, although not himself attaching weight to traditional lore, further refers to Pennant's mention of similar structures in Glenbeg, Glenelg: 'Almost contiguous to this entrance, or portico [of one of the *dùns* in Glenbeg], was a small circle formed of rude stones, which was called the foundation of the Druids' houses. I was told there were many others of the kind scattered over the valley.'[1]

It is necessary to discriminate when one considers the various buildings of this special order of architecture. While many were obviously built for human habitation, there are others of a more doubtful description. Those little stone houses of which Martin speaks, 'capable only of one person,' may indeed have been cells occupied by solitary druids, after the manner of Eastern hermits at the present day. But, on the other hand, they may have been built for some other purpose. They may have been sweat-baths, such as were formerly used in Ireland; or they may have been lamb-cotes.[2] Although keeping these possibilities in view, one must nevertheless remember that a great number of such buildings, whether covered by earth or not, were of much larger dimensions, and were obviously used as human habitations.

[1] See pp. 184-186 of vol. xxxviii. of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1903-1904), in the course of Mr. Mackenzie's article.

[2] Forty-three years ago, the late Captain Thomas uttered a word of warning in this respect. He had found several tiny beehive huts which seemed much too small for human habitation. They were situated beside a *buaile crothaidh* (gathering-fold), and proved to be merely *cotanan* in which lambs and kids were placed while they were being speaned. 'I have thought it necessary to notice them,' observes Captain Thomas, 'as in a few years' time it might be the matter of controversy whether they were erected by the Picts or the Druids.'—*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 176.

It is often hastily assumed that, because of their primitive nature, buildings of this kind are always of great antiquity. In a certain number of cases, such an assumption would be quite misleading. 'The continued use of the cahers, lisses, and raths is very interesting,' observes Mr. T. J. Westropp,[1] 'and has been treated at greater length in these pages.[2] Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, some time before his death in 1242, made "a circular fort and princely palace of earth" at Clonroad—probably the last "digging of a royal rath" in Celtic history. Conor na Siudaine before 1267 made his father's rath into "a permanent stronghold with earthworks." Mortough O'Brien's men, when among the De Burgos, "successfully contest their fair share of the cahers." Mahon Macnamara came "to the very caher" where his friends were dealing for his release. On the other hand, Ruan's cahers were grass-topped in 1317, and "even every man in a caher's souterrain" (*ooan* means both "caher" and "artificial cave" in northern Clare) was summoned by Prince Donough to the fight of Corcomroe [in 1317]. The following winter "every ollave rested in his rath, every coarb in his church, and every layman in his liss."'

From these references it appears that the underground structures of County Clare were in regular occupation in the year 1317. If might also be inferred, from the use of the qualifying 'even,' that the inhabitants of the souterrains were not regarded as specially good fighting men, and were only called out in extreme cases. But the statement that 'every ollave rested in his rath' is perhaps more striking. In Irish folk-lore the raths are intimately associated with the *daoine-sidhe*, and this passage indicates that in 1317 they were the abodes of a learned or druidic caste.

Another Irish reference, dealing with an earlier date, has similar suggestions. On the eve of the battle of Clontarf

[1] In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxii., Section C, Part II., p. 158.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. xxxi. pp. 624-632.

(A.D. 1014), Prince Murchadh informs his friend Dunlang O'Hartigan that, in mounds and mound-burghs, '*i sithaib ocus i sithbrugaib*,' he had been tempted with the promise of worldly advantages and eventually eternal life, 'but I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them.'[1]

Turning from these mediæval chroniclers to the modern advocates of 'the druid theory,' let us see what the latter have to say. 'The first suggestion of this theory,' observes Mr. Wentz, 'seems to have been made by Patrick Graham, in his *Sketches Descriptive of Picturesque Scenery on the Southern Confines of Perthshire*, published in 1806.' This statement requires to be slightly amended, for the Rev. Dr. Cririe, minister of Dalton, Dumfriesshire, had previously offered the same hypothesis in his *Scottish Scenery*, published in 1803.[2] It is not unlikely that the two reverend doctors had discussed the matter together in the manse of Aberfoyle.

Dr. Cririe remarks as follows :—

'A belief in fairies prevailed very much in the Highlands of old, indeed over all Scotland; nor has it wholly ceased at the present time. A small conical hill, called *Sien*, was assigned them for a dwelling; from which melodious music was frequently heard, and gleams of light seen in dark nights.[3] . . . Most of the traditional stories respecting fairies, especially such as represented them as *embodied* spirits, might perhaps be accounted for upon supposition that the druids, or rather some conquered Aborigines, had fled from their enemies, and taken up their residence in those subterraneous dwellings so frequently discovered in digging in various parts of Scotland, and in some places called Picts' Houses. Covered with artificial mounts, they were generally green hills. When the country came to be inhabited around them, a regard for their own

[1] *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, by Dr. J. H. Todd, pp. 172-173: London, 1867. Dr. Todd points out (p. clxxix, footnote) that in another account Dunlang O'Hartigan is himself designated a *sioguidhe*.

[2] London, Caddel and Davies, pp. 347-348.

[3] The Gaelic chroniclers of Ireland quite recognised the existence of mound-dwellings in Scotland. Thus, in *The Colloquy of the Ancients*, Cormac asks his men to seek if there be any tidings of Finn 'in any hillock of Ireland's or of Scotland's mound-burghs,'—*i síd do shídbhrogaib Eirenn nó Alban.—Silva Gadelica*, Irish text, p. 203; Eng. trans., p. 230.

safety would induce them to lie hid by day, and to come abroad only in the night: it would be of consequence, if at any time their occasions should force them abroad in daylight, that their clothing should be as like the ground as possible; hence they were always dressed in green. Their narrow dwellings kept them much confined by day; hence the exercise of dancing by moonlight must have been to them most delightful, and frequently repeated in remote glens and sequestered places. Hence also their music by night in the open air; by day in their dwellings it might have betrayed them. Hence also, in dark nights, those gleams of light, which were necessary to find their way to water, or anything else they might need. Their stock of provisions might at times run short; hence their females, appearing in green gowns, borrowing oatmeal, and repaying it. Their families, in that confined state of life, from putrid or infectious diseases, might become thin, or wear away; and hence their carrying off women and children to recruit their stock: hence also the return of those carried off, being permitted to depart, after several years of absence from their own families, under a promise of keeping their secret. Difficulties may be started; but such a supposition [1] serves to account for stories that passed current with people who, though superstitious, and apt to be imposed upon by their own imagination, were not indifferent with regard to what they thought to be truth, more than people of the present age.'

This is the hypothesis set forth by Dr. Cririe in 1803. Three years later, the Rev. Dr. Graham published his *Sketches of Perthshire*, in the course of which work he gives expression to opinions identical with those already advanced by Dr. Cririe. Sir Walter Scott thought Graham's hypothesis highly deserving of mention, but he only gave it a qualified approval. In the second edition of his *Sketches*, published in 1812, Graham observes in a footnote: [2] 'Mr. Scott, in Note vii. to Canto iv. of the *Lady of the Lake*, expresses his dissent from this theory. . . . Without presuming to provoke a controversy with Mr. Scott on the subject, the author may be permitted to retain his theory until objections sufficiently valid are advanced.'

[1] At this place Dr. Cririe weakly interjects the alternative clause 'or that of a diminutive lunar race.' As the mention of this alternative disturbs his main argument, it seems desirable to relegate it to a footnote.

[2] Pp. 260, 261.

Although Dr. Graham's views coincide exactly with those of Dr. Cririe, it is important to state them here in his own words. By way of preface, the following items of local folk-lore may be quoted : [1]—

'The *men of peace* [2] [hillockmen] are believed to be always dressed in green ; and are supposed to take offence when any of mortal race presume to wear their favourite colour. . . .

'They are believed to inhabit certain round, grassy eminences, where they celebrate their nocturnal festivities by the light of the moon. About a mile beyond the source of the Forth, above Lochcon, there is a place called *Coir-shi'an*, or the *cove of the men of peace* [hillock], which is still supposed to be a favourite place of their residence. In the neighbourhood are to be seen many round, conical eminences ; particularly one near the head of the lake, by the skirts of which many are still afraid to pass after sunset. It is believed that if, on Hallow Eve, any person goes *alone* round one of the hills nine times, towards the left hand (*sinistrorsum*), a door shall open, by which he will be admitted into their subterraneous abodes.

'The Reverend Robert Kirk, the first translator of the Psalms into Gaelic verse, had formerly been minister at Balquidder ; and died minister of Aberfoyle in 1688, at the early age of 42. . . . He was walking, it is said, one evening in his nightgown [dressing-gown] upon the little eminence to the west of the present manse, which is still reckoned as a *Dun shi'*. He fell down dead, as was believed ; but this was not his fate. . . .'

Dr. Graham then, some pages later, proceeds towards his conclusion :—

'Before we proceed farther in this account of the still prevalent superstition of the Daoine Shi', it may be observed that it evidently appears to be founded on the history and fate of the druidical order, who formerly, in matters civil and ecclesiastical, held the supreme sway in Celtic Europe. That this hierarchy existed in Scotland can be proved satisfactorily from other sources ; but it is presumed that, to an inquiring mind, the still remaining traces of this superstition of the Daoine Shi', or men of peace [hillockmen], will furnish the best evidence of their identity with the ancient Druids, as well as the best

[1] Pp. 248-250 and 253. The edition here followed is that of 1812.

[2] The fallaciousness of this translation of *sidh* has already been pointed out.

documents that can *now* be obtained of the particular tenets of a system of worship whose essence was secrecy and the knowledge of which has been buried with the extinction of the order who professed it. In whatever way, however, this opinion may be now [1806] estimated, it may be permitted to suggest that it is by no means improbable that in the slight sketch which is here offered of a mythology which is daily losing ground the principal features of the polity and doctrines of this ancient and powerful, though, in many respects, horrible hierarchy will one day be clearly recognised.

'Even in the little legends which have been given, degraded as they are by many puerile extravagancies, may we not recognize some traits of the druidical institutions which they so studiously concealed? May we not trace in them something of the mode by which the Druids procured the necessary supply of members for their order? May we not trace in them the period of the noviciate of the disciples, which, when it had elapsed, fixed their condition irrevocably, as well as the general reluctance which must have been felt by young persons of either sex, to seclude themselves for ever from the gaieties of the world, and to devote themselves to retirement and a course of painful studies?'[1]

After further remarks to the same effect, he goes on:—

'Accordingly, we have the best grounds from history to conclude that the Druids were enabled, by such practices, to maintain some traces of their order for many centuries after its great catastrophe.'

Again, on a later page (p. 268):—

'The deceptive power [illusion, charming, or hypnotism] by which the men of peace are believed to impose upon the senses of mankind is still termed in the Gaelic language, *Druid'-eachd*;

[1] That Mr. Wentz is not entirely opposed to this interpretation may be seen at pp. 134-135 of his *Fairy-Faith*, where he recounts a meeting between St. Patrick, in company with the King of Ulster and his nobles, and a young man who announces, on being questioned, that he has come 'out of the *sidh* of the Daghda's son Bodhb Derg, out of Ireland's southern part.' He further states: 'I am Cascorach, son of Cainchinn that is *ollave* to the Tuatha de Danann, and am myself the makings of an *ollave*' (*i.e.*, an aspirant to the grade).

With this passage may be compared the account (*Fairy-Faith*, p. 21, note), of a certain Welsh cromlech in connection with which 'tradition says there was once a flourishing pagan school for neophytes, and that the cromlech, instead of being a place for interments or for sacrifices was in those days completely enclosed, forming like other cromlechs a darkened chamber in which novices when initiated were placed for a certain number of days—the interior being called the "Womb or Court of Cariadwen."'

founded, probably, on the opinion entertained of old concerning the magical powers of the Druids.'

Finally, and with special reference to a story of a country girl who bore three children to a young *fear-sidh*, who was in consequence killed by the girl's brothers, Dr. Graham thus concludes : [1]—

'In this legend there seems to be an obvious reference to a period when the men of peace [hillockmen], that is, the Druids, were considered, with the exception of the sacred mystery and solemn obligations of their order, as mere ordinary mortals. And it would even seem that, in certain cases, and under certain conditions, those who had been initiated in these mysteries might be relieved from their vows. All this is human, and belongs to the order of man. The shades of this ancient institution, it is true, have, with the lapse of many centuries, become very faint ; but in the eye of the antiquary and philosopher it may appear of some importance to exhibit the faintest tints, and to concentrate, from every quarter, the remaining lights which tend to illustrate the history of this august and once powerful order.'

Two of the nineteenth-century exponents of this theory have now been quoted with sufficient amplitude. Mr. Wentz also cites Alfred Maury, who, 'in *Les Fées du Moyen-Age*, published in 1843 at Paris, appears to have made liberal use of Patrick Graham's suggestions in setting up his theory that the *fées* or fairy-women of the Middle Ages are due to a folk-memory of druidesses.' As I have not yet seen Maury's book, I am not in a position to pass any remarks upon it.

In my previous paper upon this subject,[2] I observed that 'the theories known to Mr. Wentz as "Pygmy" and "Druid" are one in substance, whether they are in agreement with each other or not.' They are one in substance, because both seek to explain the traditional stories of mound-dwellers as the memory of a race of real people. Whether they are in agreement with each other is another question. The first-mentioned occupies itself chiefly with

[1] Pp. 277-278.

[2] *Celtic Review*, October 15, 1909.

ethnological considerations, and the latter with those relating to magic. It will be seen that the two are not necessarily in conflict. If Scandinavia had been the region under survey, it would be evident that the two theories are simply two aspects of one theory. The 'druids' of Scandinavia were the Lapps, known generally as 'Finns' in Norway; and Nilsson, not to speak of others, interprets the Scandinavian stories of pygmies as a memory of the small-sized race of the Lapps and their mound-dwellings.

The main object of this paper, however, has been to state the leading arguments in favour of the view that the druids of the British Isles were a caste of magic-workers, not very different from Lapp shamans, whose permanent homes were chambered mounds and souterrains. To what extent these arguments will appeal to the readers of this *Review* remains to be seen.

LANDAVENSIUM ORDO CHARTARUM—II

Alfred Anscombe

We now come to the dissection of twenty-four grants made to Bishop Oudoce, or Euddogwy. During his episcopate the diocese of Llandaff recovered from the demoralising effects of the plague, and also from the temporary defection of Oudoce's predecessor, St. Teilo. Nearly eight years of St. Teilo's episcopate were spent with St. Sampson in Armorica; and, as we have noted, very few additions to the temporalities of the see are recorded as having been made in his time. The spiritual condition of the diocese of Llandaff is not likely to have been much better then than that condemned by St. Gildas in that epistle of his which commences *Britannia habet reges*, and which was composed in A.D. 499, when Gildas began to be about thirty years old. After the publication of it Gildas spent thirty years of his long life in the valley of the Wye, and in the island of Echin. His intercourse with St. Cadoc and St. Iltyd is well known; but we are not informed whether he co-operated with St.

Dogwin also. The three abbeys founded in the diocese of Llandaff by these eminent churchmen had been centres of spiritual light, and intellectual advancement as well, for many years; but Dogwin had died in A.D. 501, and it is probable that neither Cadoc nor Iltyd long survived him. The great plague, among the victims of which was Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd, broke out in Western Britain in A.D. 509. When Teilo fled to Armorica, shortly after it began, Bishop David and the hermit Gildas were the only prominent churchmen left in Deheubarth. Bishop Teilo came back in A.D. 517, and in that year St. David of Menevia died, and also Gereint map Erbin, the Prince of Dyfneint, Arthur's cousin. We do not know how long Bishop Teilo survived, but in Oudoce's *Life* we read of a dispute between Bishop Oudoce and Gildas himself. It is clear, therefore, that the consecration of Oudoce must be assigned to the interval that fell between A.D. 517, the year of Teilo's return, and A.D. 529, the year of Gildas's departure.

No explanation is afforded of the state of things indicated by the dissection of the last six charters—namely, the survival of Bishop Oudoce into the reign of Ithail map Morcant map Athruis, and the fact that six donations were made to Bishop Berthgwyn during the reign of Morcant map Athruis himself. If the entry of Oudoce's name in No. XLVIII. be not a mistake for Berthgwyn's—a view that the present writer does not incline to, Oudoce's advancing years may be supposed to have necessitated the appointment of Berthgwyn as adjutor, or as suffragan.

In No. XXXV. Sadoc and Guonocatui appear among the laymen. The abbreviation *d.* stands for *dedit*, or *immolauit*, or whatever term describes the act of the donor.

CORRIGENDA

P. 127. XII. *for* eliud *read* eluid
for i. (concu) *read* iv.
P. 129. XIV. *for* iii. (elharnn) *read* vi.
for ii. (iudnou) *read* v.
XXII. *for* iii. (bithen) *read* vi.

	XXV. (p. 144, fo. 42)	XXVI. (p. 140, fo. 41)	XXVII. (p. 143, fo. 42)	XXVIII. (p. 147, fo. 43)	XXIX. (p. 150, fo. 44)	XXX. (p. 150, fo. 44)	XXXI. (p. 152, fo. 45)	XXXII. (p. 146, fo. 43)	XXXIII. (p. 154, fo. 45)	XXXIV. (p. 155, fo. 46)	XXXV. (p. 151, fo. 44)	XXXVI. (p. 159, fo. 47)	
	Lann Cingualan *et* lann arthbodu lann conuur *et* lann pencreic	Cilciuhinn *et* .vi. modios terrę conuoi *et* lann gemei	Ecclesia Gvrvid	Riu graenauc Nant Auan Villa guęrberth	Porth Cassecc	Tir hiernin *et* tir retoc	*Sinodus*	Lann Corf	Lann guruaet	Lann Cŷncŷrill	Villa Lath	Lann Emrdil in brehes	
	Mouricus	Mouric *rex morcanhuc filius Teudiric et uxor eius Onbraust filia Gurcanti magni: filii sui*	Mouricus *d. uerbo et consensu heredis Liliau*	Mouric *rex*| *contra Cŷnuetu cum filio suo* *ii.* frioc *et nepote*	Morcant *rex, d et . . .*	. . .	Morcant *rex occidit patruum suum,* Frioc	. . .	. . .	Morcant *rex athruis filius, pro anima Frioc filio Mourici quem ipse occidit, d.*	Morcant *rex filius athruis, d.*	. . . Ithail *rex d.*	
	ii. Athruis *filius suus gurcanti magni nepos, d.*	*ii.* Athruis *et*| *iii.* Idnerth|		*iii.* morcant *filio Athruis*			*iv.* iuthel	Agust *rex brecheinniauc d. cum filiis suis*	Avgvst *rex* | *becheiniaun filii eius*	*vi.* rihedl *vii.* samuel	*vi.* rioidyl . . .	. . . . . .	
	vii. gueithgen *brochmaili filius*	. . .	. . .	*vii.* guedgen	. . .	. . .	*ii.* guidgen	. . .	. . .	*iii.* guedgen	. . .	. . .	
5	*ix.* matuc		*xii.* mathus|		*ii.* iudic *hereditarius f. nud d.*	iudic *rex f. nud d.*	*vii.* iudic |	*ii.* Elguid *d. et*	*ii.* eliud *et* |	*ii.* Grucinan	*ii.* gurceneu| *faber*		5
	ii. Conuonuc *viii.* gindoc	. . . . . .	*xiiii.* conuonuc| . . .	*vi.* gendic	*iiii.* Eluoid . . .	*iii.* Elgued | . . .	*iii.* gindoc	. . .	. . .	*iv.* Elcu | . . .	*iv.* gendoc *fil. ismael*	. . .	
	iii. guallonir *vi.* Conuetu	. . . . . .	. . . . . .	. . . (Cŷnuetu)	. . . . . .	. . . *ii.* cinan *rex f. cinuedu d.*	. . . *v.* iunet	. . . . . .	. . . . . .	. . . . . .	. . . *v.* iunet	. . . . . .	
10	*iv.* morcenou| *v.* Eithin | *x.* arthcumanu | *xi.* Oguhŷr |	*vii.* catleu | *x.* merthyr *iv.* condaf | *v.* Louheithi|	*ix.* catleu . . . . *x.* briauail *ii.* Conuelin|	*viii.* guengarth . . . . *v.* briauail *iv.* Cunblus	. . . . *v.* dallon *fil. guoidgar*	. . . .	. . . *vi.* iurthir |	. . . *iii.* riguallon *d.*	. . . *iii.* riuallaun|	. . . *v.* petŷr |	. . . . . . *iii.* briauail *fil. luuarch* . . .	. . . .	10
	xii. gurdilic|	*vi.* catgual |	*iii.* tutir		*vi.* Eliud *fil. guerith*	*iv.* Atoc	. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* citoc |			
15	*xiii.* gurguistil| *xiv.* arguiret | *xv.* abel |	*viii.* riacat | *ix.* conbrinun| *xi.* gurcon |	*iv.* loubran| *v.* abrgen | *vi.* Anuin | *vii.* unhu *viii.* Conbroin| *xi.* guinoc		*iv.* morclas |	*v.* milgen | *vi.* hainoen| *vii.* hirel | *viii.* conuoet | *ix.* cinuoc | *x.* protec | *xi.* aerthirn| *xii.* loudoce|	*viii.* iudgual-lon			*viii.* titgual | *ix.* bleidcu| *xi.* guelbiu|		15

XXV.	XXVI.	XXVII.	XXVIII.	XXIX.	XXX.	XXXI.	XXXII.	XXXIII.	XXXIV.	XXXV.	XXXVI.	
Oudoceus	Oudoceus *summus episcopus*	Oudoceus	Oudoceus	Oudoceus	Oudoceus *summus episcopus*	Oudoceus	Oudoceus	Oudoceus	Oudoceus *summus episcopus*	Oudoceus	Oudoceus *summus episcopus*	
iv. Iacob *abbas altaris sci. Catoci*	*ii.* Iacob *abbas sci. Catoci*	*ii.* Iacob *abbas catoci*	*ii.* Concen *abbas carbani uallis*	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Concen *abbas sci. Catoci*	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Concen *ab.* Carbani uallis	*ii.* Concen *abb. carbani uallis*	. . .	
iii. biuan *abbas Ilduti*	*iii.* Catgen *abbas sci. Ilduti*	*iii.* Catgen *abbas Ilduti*	*iii.* Catgen *abbas Ilduti*			*iv.* Congen *abbas Ilduti*	. . .	. . .	*iii.* Congen *ab Ilduti*	*iii.* Colbrit *abbas Ilduti*	. . .	
v. Eutigirn *abbas Docunni*	*iv.* Eutigirn *abbas Docguinni*	*iv.* eutigirn *abbas docunni*	*iv.* Sulgen *abbas docguinni*	. . .	. . .	*iii.* Sulgen *abbas Docunni*	. . .	. . .	*iv.* Sulgen *ab. Docguinni*	*iv.* Sulgen *abbas Docguinni*		
vi. Conhail | *presb.*	*v.* Conbran	. . .	*v.* Conbran	. . .	*ii.* Cunbran	*x.* conbran	*iii.* Conbran	*iii.* conbran	. . .	. . .	. . .	
vii. Conhibrit| *presb.*	*vi.* Conueon	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* cunueon	. . .	*v.* conueon	*v.* conueon	. . .	. . .	. . .	
viii. gueithguo| *presb.*	*vii.* Conguare	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* cunuaret| *prb.*		*vii.* bran	*vii.* bran	. . .	. . .	. . .	
	viii. Maiuc *doctor*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* Maioc |			
ii. Catgen |	*ix.* gunbiu *magister*	. . .	. . .	*iii.* gurbiu |	*v.* gurceniu *prb.*	*vi.* gurcenou	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
			vi. Sedoc	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Sedoc	*ii.* sedoc	. . .	|—| Sadoc *prbr.*	. . .	
			vii. Cynuur|			*v.* conuoge|	*vi.* conlec *filius conliup*	*vi.* conlec *filius conliup*	. . .	. . .	. . .	
			viii. Cetcu |			*vii.* coilbrit	. . .	. . .	*vii.* colbrit |	|—| guonocatui *princeps aluni capitis*	. . .	
			ix. Lỹgessauc|			*viii.* conoc	*iv.* Conocan	*iv.* Conocan	. . .	. . .	. . .	
			x. gunguare|			*ix.* sulgen	. . .	. . .	*vi.* sulgen |			
Scus. Oudoceus accepit de manu Athruis, Gurcanti Magni nepos, tres cellulas predictas				*ii.* bertguin *iv.* iaco |	. . .	. . .	. . . *viii.* conbau *ix.* conlouern| *x.* guellan | *xi.* Atgar | *xii.* guengarth|	. . . *viii.* conbau *ix.* Conlouern| *x.* guellan | *xi.* Atgar | *xii.* guengarth|	. . .	. . .	. . .	

	XXXVII. (p. 148, fo. 44)	XXXVIII. (p. 151, fo. 44)	XXXIX. (p. 149, fo. 44)	XL. (p. 157, fo. 46)	XLI. (p. 159, fo. 47)	XLII. (p. 145, fo. 43)	XLIII. (p. 156, fo. 46)	XLIV. (p. 190, fo. 56)	XLV. (p. 176, fo. 52)	XLVI. (p. 176, fo. 52)	XLVII. (p. 183, fo. 54)	XLVIII. (p. 158, fo. 47)	
	Villa Gvilbiv	Coupalua penniporth Villa gregurii, *i.e.* uilla filiorum .v. ourdeuint super ripam Tām	Podum liuhesi in eluail	Ecclesia Elidon et Guocob (Gucof)	Lann Menechi (uilla meneich)	Lann Merguall	Lann Oudocui lannenniaun .i. lannoudocui	Maervn id est villa in qua sepulchrum est Gurai	Villa Conve	Ager Helic *et* ager tencu	Cemeis	Emricorua inguent is coit super ripam guý	
	Morcant *rex fil. athruis d. pro anima sua et anima Mouricí aui sui filii teudiric*	—— *rex*	Morcant *rex d.*	. . .	. . .	Morcant *rex morcannhuc fil. athruis d.*	Morcant *rex gleuissic d.*	Morcant *rex -uxor eius Ricceneth*	Morcant *rex et filius eius*	*iii.* Morcant	Morcant *rex*	Iudhail *rex Morcanti filius et filii eius -dd.*	
	. . .	. . .	. . .	Iudhail *rex* | *athruis filius d.*									
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* rihedl |	*ii.* iudhail *fil. eius*	*ii.* ithail |			*ii.* Fernuail *et*	
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*viii.* sauuil	*ix.* samuel |	*i.* clotri *d.*	*ii.* clotri *d.* |	*iii.* mouric *d.*	
	. . .	*ii.* guedguen *fil. brochmail d.*	*vi.* guidgen *fil. brochuail*	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Guedguen|	*ii.* eifest |	*xi.* gaidnerth *fr. morcanti*	*xi.* guednerth *fr. morcanti*	v. guidnerth	*iv.* guaidnerth	. . .	
5	*iv.* iudic *filius cetuur*						*v.* iudic	*ix.* iudic	*x.* iudic				5
	iii. guinan *fil. Ilud.*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* guinan	
	vi. gindoc	. . .	*iii.* gindoc *fil. isael*	*ii.* brochmail	Brochmail | *f. Guidgentiuai d.*			*iii.* Conuilius *fil. gurceniu*	*iii.* Conuilius *fil.* | *Gurceniu d.*	*xiv.* biuhearn *mab ibleid*	*xi.* biuhearn *mab ibleid*	. . .	
			v. guaidnerth *f. guallonir*	. . .	. . .	*v.* guidnerth *fil. gullonar*	*iv.* ihuc	. . .	. . .	*vi.* Elioc	*v.* Eleoc	. . .	
	v. iunet *fil. letric*	. . .	*iv.* iunet *f. letric*	. . .	. . .	*iv.* Iunet	*viii.* Iunet	*iv.* iunet	*iv.* iunet |	*iv.* iaco	*iii.* iaco	. . .	
10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* guengarth|	*v.* conteuit	*v.* condiuit |	*ii.* Iudgual-laun *d.*			10
							iii. conuiu	. . .	. . .	*xi.* conuiu |		*iv.* gabran	
	. . .	. . .	*ii.* briauail *f. lumarch*	. . .	. . .	*iii.* briauail |		*vi.* mabsu	*vii.* mabsu	. . .	. . .	*vii.* mabsu	
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*xiv.* datlon	
	ii. gurhýtýr	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vii.* gurhitr	*viii.* gurhitr |	*viii.* comereg|	. . .	*v.* elfiu	
15	*Morcant rex d. villam Guilbiu cum hereditario suo Gurhýtýr*			*iii.* gellan | *iv.* adgar | *v.* guncar |	*villa Giurgii quam dederat brochmail idem antea simili modo eadoceo episcopo*		*vii.* biuan | *ix.* ceriau	*x.* cenguri *fil. gabran*	*vi.* cuncuman|	*vii.* gurgauarn	*vi.* gurgauarn|	*ix.* guruodu *viii.* guallonor	15
									precepit cormil filio suo conuc ut sem-	*ix.* cuguaret | *x.* catem	*vii.* ciuaret | *viii.* catem |	*x.* nud *xi.* arcon *xii.* tutnerth	

XXXVII.	XXXVIII.	XXXIX.	XL.	XLI.	XLII.	XLIII.	XLIV.	XLV.	XLVI.	XLVII.	XLVIII.	
OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	OUDOCEUS	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	OUDOCEUS	
ii. Concen *abbas carbani uallis*	*ii.* Concen *abbas carbani uallis*	*ii.* Concen *ab. carbani uallis*	*ii.* Concen *ab. carbani uallis*	*ii.* Concen *ab. carbani uallis*	*ii.* Sulgen *abbas nant carban*	*ii.* Sulgen *abbas Carbani uallis*	*ii.* Sulgen *abbas carbani vallis*	*ii.* Sulgen *abbas carbani uallis*	*ii.* Sulgen *ab. carbani uallis*	*ii.* Sulgen *abbas catoci*	*ii.* Daganus *ab. Carbani uallis*	
iii. Colbrit *abbas Ilduti*	*iii.* Colbrit *abbas Ilduti*	*iii.* Colbrit *ab. Ilduti*	*iii.* Colbrit *ab. Ilduti*	*iii.* Colbrit *abbas Ilduti*	*iv.* Gurhaval *abbas lannildut*	*iii.* Gurthauar *abbas ilduti*	*iv.* guorhauarn *abbas ilduti*	*iv.* Gurhaual *abbas Ilduti*	*iv.* Gurhaual *ab. Ilduti*	*iv.* gurhaual *abbas ilduti*	*iii.* Eluoid *ab. Ilduti*	
	iv. Iudhubr *ab. docunni*	*iv.* Iudhurb *ab. docunni*	*iv.* Iudhubr *ab. Docunni*	*iv.* Iudhubr *abbas Docguinni*	*iii.* Saturn *abbas Dochou*	*iv.* Saturn · *abbas Docguinni*	*iii.* Saturn *abbas docunni*	*iii.* Saturn *abbas Docguinni*	*iii.* Saturn *ab. Docunni*	*iii.* Saturn *abbas docunni*	*iv.* Saturn *ab. Docunni*	
. . .	. . .	*ix.* conbran	*vii.* cinbran	. . .	. . .	*v.* Conbran |						
. . .	. . .	*xi.* conueon	*ix.* conguean|									
. . .	. . .	. . .	*xi.* oran |		*vi.* mergual-dus | *princeps ecclesiæ cyngur trosgardi*							
v. trȳcan	. . .	. . .	*v.* Trȳchan	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	*vii.* guorceniu|										
. . .	. . .	*vi.* Sedoc	*vi.* satuc |									
. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* Conlec |									
. . .	. . .	*v.* guencat *princeps aluni capitis*	. . .	. . .	*v.* Guencat | *princeps lann cynuur*							
. . .	. . .	*viii.* Conoc	*viii.* Cinu-chan |									
iv. Confur	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
vi. berthguin	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* berthguin	*i.* BERTH-GUINUS *episcopus*	*i.* BERTH-GUINUS *episcopus*	*i.* BERTH-GUINUS *episcopus*	*i.* BERTH-GUINUS *episcopus*	. . .	
. . .	. . .	. . .	*xii.* Conuan |									
vii. catguare|		*x.* clemens|									
		xii. cetiu |									
		xiii. saturn | *princeps Taui urbis*										

SOME UNRECORDED INCIDENTS OF THE JACOBITE RISINGS

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

NUMEROUS traditions survive throughout the Highlands and Islands regarding the Stuart kings and the Stuart wars. The writer took down many of these from the mouths of old people, and now renders them from Gaelic into English. The traditions are given without method or sequence.

The Stuarts lost their crown through their adherence to the old beliefs. They devoutly believed in the divine right of kings and bled and died for their belief. The world has travelled far since then, no belief being tenable now unless it be conducive to the public weal.

The Stuart kings of Scotland were allied to the Bourbon kings of France. The Bourbons were as obstinate as the Stuarts themselves and suffered similarly. Buonaparte said truly if harshly, 'The Bourbons are donkeys; they learn nothing, they forget nothing.'

Many attempts were made by the Stuarts to regain the crown which their blind infatuation had lost. Highlanders joined in these attempts. Lowlanders accuse Highlanders of joining in these risings blindly. The accusation is unjust and ungenerous. It was not their blindness to the faults of the Stuarts, but their loyalty to their long line of hereditary kings, and their affection for their long line of hereditary kinsmen, that impelled Highlanders to cling to the Stuarts. Relatives may not approve of all things in the lives of their kindred, but they cling to them, fight for them, and die for them notwithstanding.

Many families of note throughout the Highlands and Islands claim kinship with the Royal House of Stuart.

Blood is thicker than water, kinship is harder than life, fostership stronger than death.

'Cairdeas gu fichead
Comhaltas gu ceud.'

'Kinship to the twentieth,
Fostership to the hundredth (degree).'

There is not a Highlander in Scotland but claims kinship or fostership with his chief, nor a chief in Scotland but claims kinship or fostership with kings of Scotland, from Pictish kings downwards. These facts are not known or understood by Lowland and English writers, but they had untold influence upon Highlanders, as Highlanders know.

John Campbell, first Duke of Argyll,[1] is known to

[1] The following anecdote shows the character of this Duke. When he commanded the British army in France, a soldier came up, and saluting him, politely said, 'By your leave, General Duke, I see gloom upon you.' 'Were you in my place there would be gloom upon you.' 'By your leave, General, what troubles you?' 'The French are upon us and we have no lead.' 'By your leave, General, do you see that church over the way?' 'Yes, what of that?' 'By your leave, General, the roof is of lead.' 'What is your name?' 'John Campbell, by your leave, General.' 'Who are your people and where are you from?' 'I have no people. I am the son of tinkers and I was born in the cleft of a rock upon the side of Lochfine' [Loch Awe?] 'Stand here till I come,' said the Duke. Presently the Duke came out of his tent and handed a captain's commission to John Campbell, and told him to go and get a captain's uniform and to take his place as captain in his regiment.

The church indicated was promptly stripped of its lead and the lead converted into bullets, with which the British met the French army and defeated them—with their own lead!

John Campbell came back the following day and tendered his commission to the Duke. 'Why this?' demanded the Duke. 'By your leave, General, the officers avoid me, and the men laugh at me, and I would rather be as I was.' 'Meet me to-morrow morning in front of the army, Captain Campbell.' The Duke commanded the army to appear in full-dress parade on the morrow. The Duke was there and John Campbell was there. The Duke placed his arm under the arm of John Campbell and walked up and down with him in front of the army. 'Go now, Captain Campbell, and take your place in your regiment,' said the Duke.

The Duke called his officers to him and reproved them, saying, 'I called you to a council yesterday and asked your help out of our perilous position. None of you suggested a way. Captain John Campbell has done so. Through his ability we will now go forward and meet the French. John Campbell has saved the British army and he has saved you and me. Pride is good in its time and in its proper place, but an observant eye and a practical brain are better in time of difficulty. Let me see that you behave as gentlemen to Captain John Campbell.' After that John Campbell, the tinker officer, was the most popular man in the army.

Highlanders as Ian Ruadh nan cath—Red John of the Battles. He was the greatest general, the greatest statesman, and the greatest orator of his time, equally great in peace and in war. It was of him that Pope said :—

> 'The great Argyll, whose name is known to wield
> And shake alike the senate and the field.'

It is said that Argyll offered to place the crown upon the head of James VII., if James would enter the church of St. Michael in Scone with him. James declined to enter the Protestant church. 'Mur a teid thus a steach leamsa dha'n eaglais cha teid an crun air do cheannsa am feadh a bhitheas an ceann ruadh seo air an amhaich riabhaich agamsa.' 'If thou wilt not go with me into the church the crown will not go upon thy head while this red head is upon this brindled neck of mine,' said Argyll.

The result was the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. The Duke of Argyll commanded the Hanoverian and the Earl of Mar the Stuart army. There were many Highlanders on both sides. They composed the right wing of each army and fought with their wonted bravery, defeating their immediate opponents and turning both armies round upon one another like a wheel turning round in a circle.

Many men fell upon both sides. One of the most lamented was Allan Macdonald, chief of Clanranald. He was known among his own people as 'Ailean beag a chridhe mhoir,' 'little Allan of the big heart.' Allan Macdonald was not little, however, but his breadth seemed to take away from his height. He was strong, active, and brave, and beloved by his people. When he fell his men crowded round him bewailing their beloved chief. His kinsman, young Macdonald of Glengarry, called out, 'Buillean am diugh, tuiream am maireach a Chlann-domhnuill,' 'Blows to-day, tears to-morrow, Clandonald!' Thus roused the Macdonalds fell upon their opponents with redoubled fury, cutting them down as they fled before them.

Sir Walter Scott mentions that in passing the prostrate

body of Clanranald a gentleman asked who he was. 'Bu duine an de e,' 'He was a man yesterday,' answered his servant.

On the day Clanranald fell at Sheriffmuir his house at Ormacleit was burnt to the ground. Venison was being cooked in the kitchen when the chimney took fire and the fire reduced the house of Ormacleit to ashes. Deer were in South Uist then: there are none now. The deer and the people of Benmore have given place to sheep, when the hills of the deer and the crofts of the natives were converted into tacks for the strangers.

Ormacleit House was designed by a French architect, built by French masons, and the freestone used in the building was brought from France. Clanranald was married to a Penelope Mackenzie, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, Governor of Tangiers, under the French Government.

Ormacleit House was seven years in building and was seven years in occupation. It is situated upon a ridge immediately above the machair or plain. The high-pointed, isolated gables of the ruins are singularly quaint and picturesque in the far-reaching landscape.

Immediately before leaving to join the Earl of Mar, Clanranald burnt down his house of Caisteal Tioram to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Campbells who were opposed to Mar. Both Caisteal Tioram and Caisteal Ormacleit stand stately and picturesque ruins of their ruined chiefs. Ormacleit Castle in Uist was the insular home; Castle Tioram in Moideart was the mainland home of the Macdonalds of Clanranald. Alas! no house, no home, no land in their native country is theirs to-day.

'Landless! landless! landless! Clanranalds!'

It is said that Clanranald fell by the hand of one of his own men. Clanranald commanded all his men to follow him to the wars. Among others he commanded the son of a widow at Staonabrig to follow him. The mother of the youth appealed to Clanranald not to take her son, her only

son, and she a widow. Clanranald was obdurate, however. 'If you will take my son from me,' said the sorrowing woman, 'I will make you rue the day you were born. They call you little Allan of the big heart. I call you little Allan of the hard heart.'

Clanranald and his men left Ormacleit in high glee, with pipers playing and with banners flying and with cheers long and loud. But the words of the widow woman were ominous to Clanranald, still ringing in his ears, still rankling in his heart. Before going into his galley at Loch Aoineart he entered the house of a woman and asked her to put a charm upon him. The woman did so, and put upon him:—

'Sian romh shaighead shiodhach
Sian romh ghath shluaghach
Sian romh luaidh shaoghlach'
Sian a bheatha bhorcach bhuan
Romh shluagh agus romh bhaogha.'

'Charm against dart of fairies,
Charm against spear of hosts,
Charm against lead of men,
The charm of the sprouting lasting life
Against men, against mishap.'

But the widow had baked two bannocks—a big bannock and a little bannock—and she asked her son which he would have—the big bannock with her malison or the little bannock with her blessing. The son said that he would have the little bannock with her blessing. 'Here are the two,' said the woman. 'The little bannock with the blessing of thy mother for hindering little Allan of the cold heart from ever breaking the heart of a widow again, and the big bannock with thy mother's malison if thou allowest little Allan of the bold heart ever again to return to Uist. And may thine eye never behold the countenance of the lovely Mary of Grace the Mother of the Christ of the Pash, if thou deceivest thine own mother, my son. Here to thee is a

crooked silver sixpence with which to bring down the bold Allan of the proud heart.' And with that the mother gave her son a crooked silver sixpence with which to execute her wish and to fulfil his promise. The son did not forget his mother's wish, nor his own promise. In the heat of battle the son of the widow of Staonabrig put his crooked silver sixpence given him by his mother in his musket and shot to the heart Allan Macdonald, Chief of Clanranald.

(*To be continued.*)

MR. A. W. MOORE, M.A., C.V.O.

On the first day of the old Celtic year, November 12, there passed away a truly representative Manx gentleman. Speaker Arthur William Moore had devoted all the energies of his many-sided life and character to the island of his birth, and the reality of the grief which his loss has called forth among all classes of his countrymen shows their sense of the fact that he was no ordinary man. In him the Celtic versatility expressed itself in action, the Celtic gifts of sympathy and tactfulness were combined with a spirit of justice and sincerity, and to the seeing eye was added 'the infinite for taking pains.' Those who saw most of him know best how unfailingly genial and courteous he was, though failing health must latterly have tried him much—but he had that high courage which rises above circumstances, and he fulfilled his many duties to the last. It was only a month before his death that he was present at a sitting of the House of Keys.

Mr. Arthur Moore came of a well-known Manx family, being the son of Mr. William Fine Moore, J.P., Cronkbourne, the able owner and controller of the Tromode Sail-cloth Mills and a member of the self-elected House of Keys. Mr. Moore was educated at Rugby under Dr. Temple, and at Trinity, Cambridge, where he was bracketed first in the

History Tripos and got his 'Rugger Blue.' The rest of his career was given to Manx, and his activities seem to have put him in touch with every phase of the island life.

He succeeded his father as head of the sail-cloth firm, which he managed with great success until the competition of the steamship destroyed the business. In 1881 he was elected member of the House of Keys for Middle Sheading, and in 1898 he became Speaker of the House of Keys, which position he held until his death. It is seldom that one man has filled so many offices, treating none as a sinecure and disinterestedly giving the best of his energies to each. He was a member of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, a member of the Harbour Board, Deputy Receiver-General, leading meteorologist of the island, an admirable magistrate, and, as director of public companies, he also did much for his country; besides actively concerning himself this way he was a founder of the Manx Language Society in 1899, and its first president, and was also one of its judges for Manx music; he will be remembered too as a vice-president of the Celtic Association; all this in addition to his literary work, by which he will perhaps be best remembered, at least by the world at large. At the Eisteddfod held at Cardiff in 1899 the degree of Druid was conferred upon him in recognition of his splendid services to Manx literature.

Though official translator of the Acts of Tynewald into Manx at the time of his death, he did not learn the Manx language until in his early manhood and at a time when it was despised by his class. He himself, in his introduction to *Manx Ballads and Music* (1896), writes of 'the entire indifference, generally speaking, of educated Manx people to their native tongue and national legends . . . as regards this century a matter of common notoriety.' What he has done for the language by his writings and his personal influence it is impossible to estimate; a glance at a list of his works (see Appendix) will give some idea of it. The aim of

his work is also well expressed in his above-mentioned preface to the *Manx Ballads and Music*. 'This publication,' he says, 'as of that of the *Manx Carols*, is to collect in one volume a curious literature, the greater part of which was threatened with almost certain loss. For less than one half of the ballads and songs given here have been hitherto published . . . and they could only have been accessible to very few. The others have been collected from various sources, some oral, some written, which in a few years would have yielded much smaller results, because the old and elderly people who alone remember them must soon pass away and because of the risk of the MSS. being lost.' His *Folklore of the Isle of Man*, *Further Notes on Manx Folklore*, *Manx Ballads and Music*, *Manx Carols*, and the *Manx Notebook*, which he edited, contain the result of his labours for the conservation of the music, lore, and tradition of the island. He also edited, assisted by Professor Rhys, *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*, the earliest and longest MS. in the language, by the publication of which the Manx Society, in the words of Professor Rhys, 'laid Celtic scholars under a lasting obligation.' Mr. Moore's part in the work was that of transcribing the MS. for the Press, and collating the printed copy with the original. Amongst his many other publications is his important *History of the Isle of Man*, which is, of course, the one authoritative book on the subject. His last published article appeared in the October number of the *Celtic Review*, and dealt with the connection of Ireland with the Isle of Man. His last paper in the *Manx Quarterly* (May 1909) was on 'The November-May Year in Man.' At the time of his death he was contemplating the publication of a book on Anglo-Manx dialect. The book was to consist of a vocabulary which was to form an appendix to be divided under four headings:—

1. Words of English origin found both in the Isle of Man and elsewhere.
2. Words of English origin whose use seems to be peculiar to the Isle of Man.

3. Words of English origin whose spelling appears to be peculiar to the Isle of Man.
4. Manx Gaelic words.

Mr. Moore had almost completed the appendix in which the words are illustrated by quotations from T. E. Brown or from other dialect writers or else from colloquial speech. The text of the book was to have comprehended chapters on the origins of Anglo-Manx, Manx characteristics as illustrated by their words and phrases, an account of the verb and adverb, etc. But of this part of the book nothing seems to have been written. The pen of the writer was stayed by the Master's hand.

An old Manxman, on hearing of the death of the Speaker, said, 'The band is off the sheaf,' and this is in every sense true of things Manx. The words of his great fellow-countryman might most fittingly have been put into his mouth:

'Of ancient heritage—
Of manners, speech, of humours, polity,
The limited horizon of our stage—
Old love, hope, fear,
All this I fain would fix upon the page,
That so the coming age,
Lost in the empire's mass,
Yet haply longing for their fathers, here
May see, as in a glass,
What they held dear—'

S. M.

List of Publications

1885-7. The Manx Notebook.
1889. The Climate of the Isle of Man.
1890. The Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man.
1891. Folklore of the Isle of Man.
1891. Carvalyn Gailckagh (Manx Carols).
1893. Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic. (2 vols.)
1893. Account of the Diocese of Sodor and Man.
1895. Further Notes on Manx Folklore.
1896. Manx Ballads and Music.
1898. Letters of Lieutenant Edward Christian.

1900. A History of the Isle of Man. (2 vols.)
1901. Manx Worthies.
1902. Story of the Isle of Man.
1903. Letters of Bishop Hildesley.
1904. Douglas a Hundred Years Ago.
1904. Historical Account of the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company.
1905. Notes and Documents from the Records of the Isle of Man.
1906. Extracts from the Journals of the Self-Elected House of Keys.

He also sent frequent contributions to *Yn Lioar Manninagh*, *Manx Quarterly*, *Scottish Historical Review*, *The Antiquary*, *Folklóre*, *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*, and other periodicals.

PAN-CELTIC NOTES

The following circular has been issued :—

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF CELTIC STUDIES IN LONDON

January 10th, 1910.

DEAR SIR or MADAM,—On behalf of the Committee for the Promotion of Celtic Studies in London, I beg leave to call your attention to the progress that has been made.

A second Course of Lectures (provided through the generosity of the same anonymous benefactor as before) was delivered last term by Professor Kuno Meyer, and was received with no less enthusiasm and appreciation than the Course delivered in the previous session.

Celtic Studies have been introduced by the Senate of the University of London so as to form a branch qualifying for the Master of Arts Degree.

The Misses Stokes have just presented to University College, London, the library of their late father, Dr. Whitley Stokes, which forms a unique collection of books connected with Celtic languages and literatures.

What is now needed is an endowment fund for the purpose of providing teachers. It is believed that if teaching were once started on a satisfactory basis, the need for it would produce the permanent endowment required. In the absence, therefore, of a permanent endowment fund, those who are interested in this matter are invited to fill up the enclosed form with a view to providing sufficient funds to start Celtic Teaching and to continue it for at least four years.—I am, Yours faithfully,

(Signed) ROBERT PRIEBSCH.

Among the list of appointments to the professorial staff of the new National University of Ireland we notice four dealing with Celtic literature and antiquities, with salaries aggregating £2400 a year. Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister is appointed to the Chair of Celtic Archæology, mainly no doubt on the strength of his *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*. Mr. John MacNeill, a Vice-President of the Gaelic League, becomes Professor of Early and Mediæval Irish History. Mr. MacNeill has for some time been working on this subject, and has published studies pointing to the necessity for a drastic reconstruction of the traditional views about the Milesian invasion and settlement of Ireland. Dr. Osborn Bergin becomes Professor of Early Irish Language and Literature. Dr. Bergin is a native Gaelic speaker who has been trained on the Continent in the principles of Celtic philology, and no one could do more credit to the important post committed to him. For the Professorship of Modern Irish, Dr. Douglas Hyde was the obvious choice, and every student and lover of the subject will rejoice that his unrivalled qualifications for this post have been recognised.

In this connection it may be stated that a movement is on foot for the establishment of a Chair of Celtic in University College. The great success of Professor Kuno Meyer in his two courses of Lectures in the close of the years 1908 and 1909, delivered before large Irish, Welsh, and Scottish audiences in the University, points to him as its most suitable occupant now that Whitley Stokes has passed away. His fine Irish library, bequeathed to University College, will, however, keep all Celts in grateful memory of that famous Celtic scholar.

The Irish Book Lover.—We have before us the fifth number of *The Irish Book Lover*, a monthly journal of Irish Bibliography excellently edited by Dr. Crom and purchasable at the price of 2s. per annum.

It contains columns of books wanted, books for sale or exchange, chats on Irish books and authors, reviews, notices of the meetings of Literary Societies, correspondence, queries and replies. Altogether it is a most valuable little periodical, and should be on the table of every book-loving Irishman.

REPLY

Mr. Niall Campbell's note in the October 1909 issue of the *Celtic Review* is interesting and informative. It seems, however, probable that the name Mac-an-leigh (Livingstone) originated in two ways, *i.e.* Mac an leigh, Son of the Physician, of which the equivalent is to be found in the Manx Clegg or Legge; and Mac-Dhun-sleibh corresponding to the Irish Donlevy.

The late Dr. Alexander Macbain gives much information regarding Livingstones in his papers on *Gaelic Personal Names* and *Etymological Dictionary*.

It would be a most natural thing to have such a name as 'son of the physician' in Gaelic.

I may mention that besides Eilean an t-Sagairt in Lochanan Dubh there is Eilean an t-Sagairt in Loch Etive near Achnacloich, so that two islands of the same name are in the same neighbourhood. ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

APRIL 15, 1910

LANDAVENSIUM ORDO CHARTARUM.—III.

ALFRED ANSCOMBE

IN this instalment the analysis of the lists of witnesses to grants made to Bishop Berthwyn is completed. These grants number twenty-three in all. Bishop Trychan succeeded, and thirteen grants made to him are on record. Bishops Gwyddleu and Heddylfyw follow, but only two additions to the temporalities are recorded in their times. Bishop Grecielis comes next, and two out of the seven grants he received are dealt with. The remaining five will be treated in the next and final instalment of this series, and also those made to Bishops Cerennhir and Cadwared.

After Cadwared there is a long interval of more than two centuries without any notice whatever in the Book of Landaff. This interval is not closed till we come to Pater, who was bishop in A.D. 955, Indiction XIII., in the reign of Neuwy son of Gwriad. It is probable that Bishop Cadwared may have survived into the eighth century.

Scribal errors and misreadings become more frequent as we advance. Among the more glaring are *danoc abbas Ilduti* (No. LIII.), which yields *n* : : *g* and *c* : : *n*, for 'Dagon'; *gundon* for 'Gurdoc,' with *n* : : *r* and *on* : : *oc*, in No. LI.; *cobreigen* for 'Cobreiden' with *g* : : *d*, in No. LXXI; *congant* for 'Conguaret' with *n* : : *r*, in No. LXXVI.; *loguonaul* for 'Ioguonaul,' *i.e.* Juvenal, with long *i* misread *l*, in Nos. LXXXIII., LXXXIV.

The variations in spelling are important for the phonologist, especially as regards *ē*, *ŏ*, and *g*. The occasionally evanescent nature of the voiced guttural is indicated by the equivalents *Conhae* : *Conhage* (Nos. LIV., LXV.), and by the strengthening the final syllable, *-ig*, received by the infixing of *c*, as in 'Ercicg,' 'Gliwissicg.' The tendency to misread this *c* as *n* has led to much speculation about Cymric patronymics in *-ing*. The wavering between *a* and *o* is noteworthy, as in *canguaret*, *conguaret*, *conguoret*.

XLIX. (p. 174, fo. 51) ecclesia ýstrat hafren	L. (p. 180, fo. 53) Lann Catgualatýr	LI. (p. 195, fo. 58) Merthir Clitauc	LII. (p. 175, fo. 52) podum iiii. modiorum agri	LIII. (p. 179, fo. 53) Cvm Cerrvc	LIV. (p. 186, fo. 55) Villa Nis	LV. (p. 180, fo. 53) Inguent uch coit Apermenei iuxta frut murfin mainaur Lann Garth	LVI. (p. 183, fo. 54) Ecclesia Týtiuc super ripam Guy	LVII. (p. 178, fo. 53) ager trium modiorum super ripam Guy	LVIII. (p. 184, fo. 54) uilla iuduiu	LIX (p. 185, fo. 54) Gvrmarch	LX. (p. 186, fo. 55) Villa Nis	
Morcant *f.* *athruis d.*	Morcant *rex*	Ivdhail *f.* *Morcant rex gleuissicg filii eius*	Iudhael *rex cum filiis*	Ivthail *rex f.* *morcanti et ff.*	Iudhail *rex et*	iudhail *rex cum filiis suis*	Iudhail *rex*	. . .	. . .	iuthail *rex*	. . .	
ii. iudhail |		*ii.* fernuail *et*	*ii.* fernuail *et*	*ii.* Fernuail et	*ii.* fernuail	*iii.* fernuail	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	*iii.* mouric	*iii.* mouric	*iii.* mouric	*iii.* mouric	*ii.* mouric *et*	*ii.* mouric *f.* *eius pro anima athruis*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	*ii.* guednerth	*xii.* guaidnerth |					*iv.* guincon	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	. . .	*viii.* dounerth *f. iudic*	*vii.* deunerth *f. iudic*	*viii.* duinerth | *f. iudic*		*v.* iudguoret |	*i.* Conblus	. . .	. . .	*ix.* teudus *f.* | *conblus*	
		iv. iudhail *et* |					*vi.* melguas |	*ii.* conon |	*iii.* riataf	*ii.* riatam |	*x.* cleisguith |
iii. biuhearn |		*v.* freudur *hereditarii*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	*vi.* elioc |		*iv.* Ilias *d.*	. . .	*iv.* ilias *d.*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*i.* Ilias *f.* *Morglas*	
. . .	*iv.* iacob *f.* | *mabsu*		*x.* iudnoe	*x.* iudane	*xii.* iudnoe |		*iii.* iunet |			*iii.* gueidci | *frater cinuor*	(catgen *fr.* *suus*)	
. . .	. . .	. . .	*vii.* iudnerth *f.* *iudgualon*	*vi.* iuthnerth *f. iudguellon*	*vii.* iudnerth *f.* *iudguallaun*	*viii.* iudnerth	. . .	. . .	*vii.* iudnerth	. . .	. . .	
. . .	*vii.* gabran	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* gafran *hereditarius*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	*vii.* mabsu	*vi.* mabsu	*iv.* mabsu	*vi.* mabsu	*ix.* mabsu	. . .	. . .	*i.* mabsu	. . .	. . .	
. . .	*viii.* elfin	*vi.* Elfin	. . .	*v.* Elfin	*v.* elfin	*v.* elfin *f.* *guidgen*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* guoruodu	*xv.* guruodu	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vii.* guallonir	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	*iii* iudic *f.* *Nud*	. . .	*ix.* ceriau	. . .	*ix.* ceriau	*xii.* ceri	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*x.* iudic |	*vii.* catguei-then |	*iii.* guoith-gual |	*viii.* mabsu *f.* *guobeith*	. . .	*viii.* mabsu *f.* *guobeith*	
iv. conuin *f.* | *hiubilin*	*v.* guengarth |	*xi.* eudom	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* oudem	. . .	. . .	
v. bace |		*viii.* conuc |				*xiii.* cunuor	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* cinuor	. . .	
vi. guruithon | *f. Elcon*		*ix.* gaudbiu |	*v.* Elcun |	*viii.* Cuii *f.* *iudaltcan* |		*xi.* guellerion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
		x. gundon	. . .	. . .	. . .	*xvi.* gurdoc	*viii.* gurdoc	. . .	*ii.* guordoc |	*ix.* pascen |	*ii.* *tres fratres gistlerh*	
				ix. Agemarhan |	*xi.* conhae	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
						xiv. gleu |			*ix.* cunhearn |	*vi.* gurdem |	*xi.* dibro	
						xvii. Arthuo |			*iv.* condouan |	*iv.* cinuin | *frater cinuor*	*xii.* Iudat |	
						xviii. conocan |		*iv.* guorcon |	*vi.* heuel |	*vii.* iudbiu |	*xiii.* gurguin |	
						xix. conet | *vi.* gurcant		*v.* guesinut |	*xi.* bledris |	*viii.* gurceneu |	*v.* meruin *et* | *duo filii fratris eius*	
									x. cuncum |	*iv.* conuor *f.* *iacob*		

XLIX.	L.	LI.	LII.	LIII.	LIV.	LV.	LVI.	LVII.	LVIII.	LIX.	LX.
BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS	BERTHGUINUS
. . .	. . .	*ii.* Dagan *abbas caruani uallis*	*ii.* Dagan *abbate carbani uallis*	*ii.* Danoc *abbas carbani uallis*	*iii.* Dagan *ab. caruani uallis*	*ii.* gnouan *ab. altaris Catoci*					
. . .	. . .	*iii.* Elgoid *abbas ilduti*	*iv.* Eluoed *abbate ilduti*	*iii.* Eluod *abbas ilduti*	*iv.* Elguoid *ab. ilduti*	*iii.* fomre *ab. ilduti*					
. . .	. . .	*iv.* Saturn *abbas docunni*	*iii.* Saturn *abbate docunni*	*iv.* —*abbas docguinni*	*v.* Saturn *ab. docunni*	*iv.* —*abbas docunni*					*iii.* canguaret
	ii. gunuiu *lector*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
								iii. conuoe	. . .	. . .	. . .
	iv. conguarui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* conguare	. . .	*iv.* conguare	. . .	. . .
ii. Samuel *magister*	*ix. l.* Samuel	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
iii. trỹcan	*v.* torchan	. . .	*v.* Trican *lectore*	. . .	*ii.* turchan	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* torchan	*ii.* turchan	. . .
		v. Iouan	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* iouan *f. meilic*	. . .	. . .	. . .
		vi. guorcuiidh	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* gurciueith	. . .	*iv.* gurceuid	*iv.* gurcueith
		vii. heliguid	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
		viii. Ili	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* ili	*v.* Eli	. . .
. . .	*iii.* confur	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* confur	*iii.* confur	. . .	. . .
							iii. morheb	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
							ii. dillug	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
								v. rioual			
										iii. guenoc	*ii.* guenoc
		tres heremitæ: Libiau Guruau Cinuur									

LXI. (p. 188, fo. 55)	LXII. (p. 188, fo. 55)	LXIII. (p. 189, fo. 56)	LXIV. (p. 190, fo. 56)	LXV. (p. 187, fo. 55)	LXVI. (p. 179, fo. 53)	LXVII. (p. 191, fo. 56)	LXVIII. (p. 204, fo. 60)	LXIX. (p. 202, fo. 60)	LXX. (p. 204, fo. 60)	LXXI. (p. 205, fo. 60)	LXXII. (p. 201, fo. 59)
Penn Hellei in medio Serugunhid	ager estrat ager id est Tvll Coit	Machýnýs ager sex modiorum	Villa Bertvs	Lann Týssoi	Villa Gvinnonvi iuxta paludem mourici	Gvennonoe iuxta paludem Mourici	Villa procliuii i. tref irisceiauc iuxta nadauan	Villa Ellgnov Inguorinid	Strat Elei	Lann Helicon	Gvrthebiriuc Lann gunguarui super Trodi
. . .	Iudhail *rex*	Iudhail *rex*	Ithail *rex d.*	iudhail *rex*	Ithail *rex*	iudhail *rex et filii sui*	Iudhail *rex f. morcanti*	Iudhail *rex f. Morcanti et filii eius*			
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	fernuail	. . .	*iii.* fernuail	. . .	. . .	Fernuail *rex f. iudhaili*
. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* mouric *f. eius*	. . .	. . .	*iii.* mouric *et*	. . .	*ii.* mouric	Mouric *rex et fr. eius ris filii iudhaili regis*	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* rotri	. . .	*iv.* rotri	*vii.* brochuail	Brochuail *rex*	
iii. congueithen	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* freudur	*viii.* freudur			*vi.* elias
ii. elcu	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* Arthuail	*ii.* Conuil *Gurgeni f. cum f. suo*	*v.* Conuc *f. conuil*	. . .	. . .	*v.* britcun
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* iudnerdh			*iii.* Gurniuet, *dd.*				
. . .	. . .	*iii.* gabran	. . .	*iii.* gabran	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* gabran		
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* mabsu		*v.* ris	. . .	. . .	*ii.* ris *f. iudhaili regis g.*		
. . .	. . .	*ii.* Gurcan *f. guinan*					*v.* eluc	*ix.* Eloc	*iv.* Cors *f. gabran d.*		
i. Elfin *d.*	*ii.* Elfin *d.*	*iv.* elfin	. . .	*vii.* guruodu	. . .	. . .	*xiv.* erbic	*xix.* erbic	*vi.* erbic	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv. c.* guruodu				*vi.* guinuc		*viii.* guallonir		
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* ceriau	*ii.* iudon *hereditarius f. ceriau*	*vi.* Ivdon *filius ceriau d.*	*viii.* deui *f. conglis*	*xiii.* deui	. . .	*vi.* deuui	. . .
							vii. morleu	*xi.* morleu		*vii.* trahearn	
. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi. c.* eudem				*xiii.* bonus	*xvii.* bonus	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii. c.* guelerion				*x.* gellan	*xiv.* gellan			
. . .	*vi.* guorbuth	. . .	*v. c.* heinif	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*xviii.* nir	. . .	. . .	. . .
			. . .				*xv.* ellgleu	*vii.* elgnou *et*	*ix.* bledud	*ii.* Elivid *et*	
vi. dubron	*ii.* concar	*v.* elguarui		*ii.* conhage *d.*			*xvi.* derbiv	*vi.* derbiu *heres*		*iii.* Conone *et*	*iv.* elian
vii. morguid	*iii.* guorhoidil						*xi.* guodon	*x.* serguan		*iv.* guoidcen *et*	
v. eres	*iv.* aironbrit						*xii.* lunbiu	*xvi.* lunbiu		*v.* erdtibiu *filii eugen*	
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* meruin
. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii. c.* conuor	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*viii.* confur	*ii.* conuur *f. iacoi d.*
iv. conuin	*v.* confice *vii.* hinbiu			*Conhae de propria sua hereditate dedit pedum sancti Tisoi alumni si. Dubricii.*			*ix.* pesbiu	*xii.* concuan *xv.* morcleis			*vii.* conuin *f. tenci*

	LXI. BERTHGUINUS	LXII. BERTHGUINUS	LXIII. BERTHGUINUS	LXIV. BERTHGUINUS	LXV. BERTHGUINUS	LXVI. BERTHGUINUS	LXVII. BERTHGUINUS	LXVIII.	LXIX. TIRCHANUS	LXX. TRICHANUS	LXXI. TIRCHANUS	LXXII. TRICHAN	
								ii. catguoret	*ii.* catguoret	*ii.* catguoret	. . .	. . .	
								iii. cobreiden	*iii.* cobreidan	*iii.* cobreigen	. . .	. . .	
	. . .	*iv.* conguaret	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
5	. . .	*ii.* gunnuiu | *lector*											5
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* conuoe	
	iii. conguarui	. . .	*iii.* conguarui |										
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* Samuel |								
	iv. tirchan	. . .	*iv.* turchan	. . .	*ii.* turchan			TRICANUS *episcopus*					
10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* iauan	*vii.* iauan	. . .	. . .	. . .	10
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* guorcaed	
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
	v. ili	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* Eli	
15	*ii.* confur *presbyter*	*iii.* confur	*ii.* confur	. . .	*iii.* confur	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	15
	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* morheb *ab. podii deui*	*vi.* morhep |								
	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* dilluc |	
				iii. daniel |				*x.* cain |				
	vi. deui	. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* deui	. . .	. . .	*iv.* deui	*iv.* deuui	. . .	. . .	. . .	
				iv. elhauaid |		*ii.* guruodu	*ii.* guoruodu |	*v.* gurhaual	*v.* guorhaual	. . .	. . .	
20				*v.* gurcu |		*iii.* tutnerth	*iii.* tutnerth |	*vii.* gurpoi	*ix.* guorhaboe	. . .	. . .	20
						iv. etelic	*iv.* etelic |	*viii.* seitir	*viii.* seitir	. . .	. . .	. . .	
						v. candau	*v.* condiuiu |	*ix.* trecor |	*x.* hilin	. . .	. . .	. . .	
						vi. iudonai	*vi.* iudne |	*cum tribus abbatibus*	*xi.* guarlonir |				
								Sulgeno ab. caruani uallis	*vi.* cossoc	. . .	*Sulgen ab. caruani uallis*	. . .	
								Saturno ab. docunni			*Saturn ab. docguinni*		
25								*gurhaual ab. ilduti*			*Guorharal ab. ilduti*		25

LXXIII. (p. 203, fo. 60)	LXXIV. (p. 198, fo. 58)	LXXV. (p. 199, fo. 59)	LXXVI. (p. 199, fo. 59)	LXXVII. (p. 200, fo. 59)	LXXVIII. (p. 197, fo. 58)	LXXIX. (p. 198, fo. 58)	LXXX. (p. 203, fo. 60)	LXXXI. (p. 168, fo. 50)	LXXXII. (p. 169, fo. 50)	LXXXIII. (p. 170, fo. 50)	LXXXIV. (p. 169, fo. 50)
Villa Tancuor[a] Villa Deui[b] Villa Iliman[c]	Tir Dimvner	Ecclesia Trilecc Lann Mainuon	Merthir Tecmed	Hen Lenhic Lann Gvern in Ercicg	Villa Ellcon super dubleis	Villa Cathouen filii hindec	Tvrion	Villa hirpant *et guinguallum cum sua progenie*	Partem agri	Cvm Movric in ercicg	Ecclesia Cilpedec in ercicg
fernuail *et filii eius*	fernuail	fernuail *rex d.*	. . .	Fernuail *rex*	. . .	. . .	Fernuail *rex filius Iudhaili cum filiis suis*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
iv. Bricon *filius guincon*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
ii. mouric *f. fernuail*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* mourico *et*			mouricus *rex*	mouricus *rex*
. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* congaet *f. congueithe*								
iii. guorcant *f. fernuail*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* gurcanto	. . .	gurcant *d.*		
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	*i.* brii *f. Iudbiu d.*	*ii.* catuuth *f. coffro*	. . .	. . .	*iv.* maluc *f. guinan*	*i.* Cuchein *f. Gloiu d.*	*iii.* cuchein	. . .	. . .
		iii. eudolan	*ii.* ceretic et	*iii.* isaac	*ii.* conglas		*v.* haarnbiu	*ii.* dofngarth		*ii.* Guinncum *d.*	*vi.* guincum
		iv. conan	*iii.* iudic *filii riderch*		*iii.* marchan		*vi.* guorcu	*iii.* reu	*iv.* Elcon		*ii.* fauu *f. beniamin et filiis*
			iv. bledbiu				*vii.* riuoret *f. anaugen*	*iv.* gurdocui		*iv.* morgen	*iii.* enniaun *et*
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*i.* Erbic *f. Elfin*	erbic *f. Elfin*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
vii. cron *filius morciuanv*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
viii. clotuc	*iv.* Amann							*v.* Eudeat			*iv.* gedeaun
xii. deui	*iii.* cinuelin	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* biuc	*iv.* conbresel	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
ix. guoruone	. . .	. . .	*vii.* conhorget				. . .	. . .	*ii.* bonus	*v.* bonus	*viii.* bonus
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vii.* aircol	*x.* aircol
. . .	*v.* heinif *filius conscuit*	*v.* heinif *filius conscuit*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* nir	*ix.* nir
			viii. letan					*vi.* abraham			*v.* concum
x. ilbri *filius iunet*											
xi. morcu											
vi. meruin											
v. conmor	*ii.* conmor	*ii.* conmur									
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* conuin	*vii.* cinum

a. V.T. *filii conan*
b. V.D. *filii iust*
c. V.I. *filii samson*

Clerical Witnesses—*contd.*

LXXIII.	LXXIV.	LXXV.	LXXVI.	LXXVII.	LXXVIII.	LXXIX.	LXXX.	LXXXI.	LXXXII.	LXXXIII.	LXXXIV.
TIRCHANUS	TRICHAN	TRICHANUS	TRICANUS	TRICHANUS	TRICHANUS	TRICHANUS	TRICHANUS	GUIDLOUIUS	HEDILBIU	GRECIELIS	GRECIELIS
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* catguoret	*ii.* catguaret *presbiter*	*ii.* catguaret *presbiter*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii. l.* cobreidian					
. . .	. . .	. . .	*ii.* congant *presbiter*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*vi.* conguaret	*vi.* conguoret
							ii. Catgueithen *presbiter*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
iii. conuoi	*v.* conboe	*v.* conmoi	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
								ii. Auner		*ii.* nud *lector*	*ii.* nud *lector*
iv. morcouanu								*iii.* scituc		*v.* apis	*v.* apis
v. dincat								*iv.* Edilfred		*iv.* guruoe	*iv.* guoruoe
. . .	*iii.* iouan	*iii.* iauan	*vi.* iouan	*iii.* iouhan	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
ii. guorcuheith	*iv.* guorcueith	*iv.* cueith		*v.* gurhae				*v.* Conan	. . .	*iii.* Conan	*iii.* Canan
. . .	*vi.* Elecuid	*vi.* helicguid		*vi.* reu				*vi.* Iudguoret		*vii.* portur	*vii.* portur
. . .	*ii.* Ili	*ii.* Ili		*vii.* tanet *presbiter*				*vii.* leui		*viii.* loguonaul	*viii.* loguanaul
. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii.* confur	*iv.* Confur	*iii.* confur	*iii.* Confur		*viii.* guingual		*ix.* iudio	*ix.* iudiu
								ix. gurcinnif		*x.* merchion	*x.* merchion
vi. accipe								*x.* dofran		*xi.* iudon	*xi.* iudon
										xii. ioubiu	*xii.* ioubiu
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv. l.* deui					
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iv.* gurhaual	*iv.* gurhaual	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	*viii.* guorhabui	*viii.* guorabui	*iv.* guorabui	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	*iii. l.* seitir	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	*ix.* hilin	*vii.* gulecet			*v. l.* Cloibiu	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	vii. guoron	*vii.* guoron	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	*v.* cosoc								

TRACES OF THE NEUTER GENDER IN MODERN SCOTTISH GAELIC

Professor Mackinnon

One of the many truths which the great Celtic Grammarian, Zeuss, was able to establish was the existence of the Neuter Gender in Celtic as in the other Aryan Languages. In the old MSS. from which the Gaelic portion of the *Grammatica Celtica* was mainly constructed, — the glossed copy of Priscian's Grammar in St. Gall (Sg.); the glossed copy of the Epistles of St. Paul in the University of Würzburg (Wb.); the glossed copy of a commentary on the Psalms formerly in the monastery of Bobbio, founded by Columbanus a monk of Bangor, but now in Milan (Ml.); and the Book of Armagh (B.A.) in Dublin—distinctive Neuter forms abound for the Article, Noun, Adjective, and Pronoun, all of which are duly set forth for the first time in that monumental work. Succeeding scholars have corrected and extended in minor details the examples adduced by the illustrious master, but the existence of the Neuter in Celtic, and especially in the Gaelic dialects, is now an axiom with Gaelic grammarians. These Neuter forms have now all but disappeared from the modern Gaelic tongues, but, as is always the case, they have left interesting traces behind them in the dialects of to-day which we are so far able to explain by the light which the old writings of the language throw on the Neuter Gender.

In Celtic, as in the Classical tongues, Grammatical Gender was originally no doubt based upon sex. But very early certain Noun-stems came to be regarded, grammatically, as Masculine or Feminine, although, in meaning, the nouns themselves could not be spoken of as Male or Female. Such was the case in all the old Aryan tongues, and such is the case in many modern languages, as German, *e.g.* English alone has been able in a comprehensive manner to equate Grammatical Gender with Nature and Sex, where

the names of Males are all grammatically Masculine, the names of Females Feminine, and all others Neuter—that is *neither* (Male nor Female) Masculine nor Feminine. The fact that English has no flexion of Article or Adjective has no doubt greatly simplified the convenient and practical distribution of Grammatical Gender in that tongue. The Pronoun as the substitute or representative of the Noun has alone to be considered.

In passing from a language with three Genders to one which has only two, considerable inconveniences and frequent confusion necessarily arise. The Gael has at first a difficulty in correctly apportioning many of his 'he's' and 'she's' among the English 'it's,' while the Saxon is equally at a loss in properly distributing his 'it's' among the Gaelic and French 'he's' and 'she's.' Nor is his task much lightened in turning to German where he finds the lists of Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter Nouns so very different from his own.

In the development of Grammatical Gender it appears that the Neuter came later than the Masculine and Feminine. The Sanskrit grammarians called the new class of Nouns *klîva*, 'eunuch,' but the Latins, from whom the moderns have so largely borrowed the technical terms of grammar, were satisfied with the prosaic *neutrum*, 'neither.' English which had its native word '*neither*' formed like the Latin could very easily have specialised its meaning in grammar to *neuter*, but it evidently became the fashion early in the history of that language to borrow from the foreigner, even when there was no need to do so. According to Cormac, the old lexicographer, Gaelic had two terms meaning *neuter—deme* .i. *cech neutur lasin laitneoir is deme lasin filid n-gaedalach*, 'everything neuter with the Latinist is *deme* with the Gaelic poet'; and *traaeth* .i. *cach nechtraige* 7 *cach neotur*, '*traaeth i.e.* everything neutral and neuter.' (Three Irish Glossaries, *deme*, *traaeth*.) But the old Gaelic grammarians, like the English, preferred to borrow the Latin term than to use the native one. It may be added that the language also

possessed a native word for the useful word 'neither,' formed exactly like *neutrum* and 'neither,' but which we have allowed to fall into disuse. In old Gaelic *nechtar* meant 'one of two.' Later the Adjective *nechtarde* was formed; and by prefixing *neb-*, *nemh-* (now *neo-*) to this word, we formed *neo-neachtardha*, 'neither.' Thus (MS. iv. Adv. Lib.) *neutrum* .i. *nemhnechtarda* of which the writer gives four definitions, the shortest being: *neutrum est res non sana non egrota* .i. *is ed is nemhnechtarda ann red gan beth slan no eslan*, 'what is neither well nor ill.'

It is a striking coincidence that in the Romance Languages, the descendants of Latin, the Neuter Gender has disappeared as in the Celtic dialects; that in both groups interesting survivals of the old Neuter remain; and further that while many Nouns formerly Neuter have become Feminine, much the greater number are now Masculine.

Scottish Gaelic, unlike English, still declines the Article and Adjective. In the modern language we may say generally, avoiding details, that in the case of Feminine Nouns, the Article causes the aspiration of the Noun, and the Noun causes the aspiration of the Adjective, in the Nominative Singular; while with Masculine Nouns aspiration does not take place: *a' bhean mhor*, 'the big woman,' but *am fear mor*, 'the big man.' The former is of course represented by *i*, the Fem. Pers. Pronoun, the latter by *è* the Masc. Pers. Pronoun. We have thus two tests to settle the Gender of a Noun in Gaelic, the Article and Adjective test, and the Pronoun test. We shall find later that there is a group of Nouns which are Masculine or Feminine according as one gauges them by the one test or the other.

Let us now consider cases of the survival of the Neuter in Modern Gaelic, and thereafter treat of the confusion which the disappearance of the Neuter has wrought in the Gender of Gaelic grammar.

I. Take the case of *ed*, now *eadh*.

The old grammarians wrote the third person Sing. of the Pers. Pron. thus:

Masc. *é*; Fem. *sí*; Neut. *ed*;
with their emphatic forms:
Masc. *é som*; Fem. *sisi*; Neut. *ed ón.*

When Neuter Nouns came to be classed as Masc. or Fem. the main function of the Neuter Pronoun *ed* became merged in *é* and *sí*. Still the word was not entirely dropped. We write the simple form *eadh* and the emphatic form *eadhon*; and we use the former idiomatically, with fringes of its *neuter* vesture still clinging to it. Thus when one is reciting verse or telling a story, and when you feel that he merits approval you encourage him to proceed by saying *'s eadh*, 'it is,' 'yes' (*'s è* would be quite out of idiom). So also in the well-known passage (Matt. v. 37): *'Ach gu ma h-è is còmhradh dhuibh 'S eadh, 's eadh; ni h-eadh, ni h-eadh: oir gè b'e ni a bhios os cionn so, is ann o'n olc a tha e'*. Here Scottish Gaelic usage would demand *cha'n eadh* instead of *ni h-eadh*, which is the common Irish form, otherwise the idiom is correct. *'S è* and *cha'n è* would be idiomatically wrong. If you wish to ask such a question as 'Is he a native of Mull?' *e.g.* you can do so in one of three forms, all idiomatically correct: (1) An *ann* de mhuinntir Mhuile a tha e? to which the answer would be, 'S *ann* or cha'n *ann*; (2) An *è* Muileach a tha ann? the answer now being, 'S *è* or cha'n *è*; (3) Am *Muileach* e? the proper reply to which is, 'S *eadh* or cha'n *eadh*. So where the chief captain asked St. Paul (Acts xxii. 27) if he was a Roman, the question is put in the form, *An Romanach thu?* and the answer is given idiomatically correct, *Is eadh*, not *is è*. Similarly if I come upon an animal, a dog or a horse, showing temper, I turn and say *An eadh?* or in English, 'Would you?' From these examples of the idiomatic use of *eadh* in Scottish Gaelic, as also in Irish, it will be seen that *eadh* distinguishes from *è* in that the latter responds to a person or concrete individual thing, while the former is concerned with an idea, a concept, a predication, which in its nature is essentially Neuter—in fact *eadh* is in living use as a Neuter in Gaelic right down from Neuter days.

It may be added that *ed ón*, now *eadhon*, came in the old language to be chiefly used in the sense of *viz.*, 'namely,' 'to wit,' etc., just as the word is mainly used now. Other forms into which *ed, eadh*, entered, such as *ma's eadh* (*ma seadh*), *gidheadh*, etc., are in use in the modern as in the old language, but from the nature of the case their idiomatic use is not connected with Gender.

The case of *cid*, now *ciod*:

In the old language the Interrogative Pronouns, *ce, cia*, were not distinguished in respect of Gender. But very early these were combined with the Personal Pron., and distinction of Gender emerged: *ce hé*, 'quis'? *ce si* (*cisi*) 'quae'? *ced, cid* (*ce ed*), 'quid'? These distinctions have so far remained. *Cisi* has disappeared, and we now use *co* for *quis*? and *quae*? indifferently. We have *cia* which is used in dialect more or less frequently for *co*; but *ciod* still represents the old *cid*, 'quid'? 'what'? *Ciod* has in construction taken the Pers. Pron. *è* after it. The stress is upon the *è*, and accordingly *ciod è* has in common speech become *gu-dé?* and even *dé?* in the sense of 'what?'

As between *co* and *ciod*, the one referring to persons the other to things, no mistake is ever made: *Co tha thu faicinn*? 'Whom are you seeing'? *Ciod*(*gu-dé, dé*) *tha thu cluinntinn*? 'What are you hearing?' But some confusion emerges when the personal pronoun *è* or *ì*, referring to a specific Masc. or Fem. Noun joins to *ciod*. We have seen that in popular speech *è*, but not *ì*, has attached to *ciod* in the form *gu-dé, dé* for *ciod è*, but not *gu-dì, dì* for *ciod ì*. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Masc. and not the Fem. has replaced the disused Neuter *ed*. We say *dé do bharail?* for the literary *ciod ì do bharail?* 'What is your opinion?' as well as *dé do bheachd* for *ciod é do bheachd?* 'What is your conviction?'

It looks as if it were here we should find the explanation of such phrases as *ciod è urnuigh* instead of the form one should look for *ciod ì urnuigh*, seeing that *urnuigh* is a Fem. noun. The anomaly did not escape the notice of the

capable Gaelic Grammarian, Dr. Alexander Stewart, whose shrewd observations on this point, as also upon the proper meaning of Grammatical Gender (*v. Gram.*, ed. 1812, pp. 42, 160), prove him to have been an able exponent of philosophical Grammar. Had Dr. Stewart known the old forms of Gaelic and especially the disused Neuter forms, he would have found in them a simpler and more satisfactory explanation of these and other abstruse points in Gaelic Grammar than among the subtleties of scholastic philosophy.

II. The confusion which the disappearance of the Neuter has caused in the Gender of Nouns in modern Gaelic.

In the fourth volume of the Todd Lecture Series (Dublin, 1892), Father Hogan has printed an exhaustive list of nouns which were Neuter in old Gaelic. An examination of this list shows that, as already stated, much the greater number of these have become Masculine in the modern language, although the number that joined the Feminine is considerable. A few have left behind them in names and phrases traces of their earlier grammatical association. We may take a few examples: *Tir*, 'land,' as distinct from *muir*, 'sea,' was of old a Neuter noun, although the word is now and has been for many generations, all over Gaelic-speaking land, Feminine. It regularly takes the adjective attached to it in the aspirated form, *tir mhor fharsuing*, 'a great spacious land,' and the Article when prefixed to it declines in the Feminine, *feadh* na *tire*, 'throughout the land.' But an Islander still says *tir-mor* (not *tir-mhor*) when he speaks of the mainland of Scotland, and the Mainlander says *tir-mor* when he speaks of the Continent of Europe. In the same way Islander and Mainlander alike say *teachd*-an-*tir* (not *teachd*-na-*tire*), 'yield of the land,' 'sustenance,' 'food.' The true explanation of these and similar phrases is that they were formulated and, so to speak, petrified when *tir* was still a Neuter noun, and subjected the Article and Adjective attached to it to the forms of the Neuter.

Muir, 'sea,' like *tir*, 'land,' was of old a Neuter noun, and is now Feminine. In some localities *muir* still retains some reminiscences of its old gender; *am muir* is heard in some districts for *a'mhuir* and *muir mor* instead of the common *muir mhor* in the Nominative; but on the other hand *taobh* na *mara*, 'seaside,' seems to be the only form in use for the Genitive. In place-names, however, *Ceann-a'-mhara* (Kenmare), 'end of the sea,' is met with, a case of the Neuter form surviving in the Genitive.

Tràigh, 'beach,' 'ebb,' is another Neuter noun which has become Feminine. In the old language there were two words denoting 'beach,' 'strand,'—*tracht* and *traig*. The latter became Fem. very early; it is marked so by Professor Windisch. The noun is now commonly declined in the dental declension: Nom., *an tràigh*, Gen. *na tràghadh*. In place-names the old Neuter form is clearly in evidence; *Baile*-an-*tràid*, *Dail*-an-*tràid*, Ballantrae. A beautiful beach of pale yellow sand is still in Colonsay *An Tràigh bàn*, while all the others are *tràigh bhàn* (or *gheal*). (*Cf.* the last number of this *Review*, p. 245 'o Thràigh Bàin Mhùideart.)

Inbhear or *inbhir*, 'river mouth,' although marked Masculine in Windisch's vocabulary, was a Neuter noun in old Gaelic. The word retains its old form and declension in the North Highlands, as e.g. *Loch-an-inbhir*, 'Lochinver,' in the west of Sutherland, but in the southern Isles it has become Feminine, and takes the guttural declension in the Genitive,—*Tigh na h-in(bh)earach* 'Inverhouse' (Jura); *Bodha na h-in(bh)earach*, 'Inver reef' (Colonsay).

In addition to this group of Nouns, which might be enlarged, whose history preserves traces of their fluctuations in Gender, there is a number of quite common words of varying gender in Gaelic dialect, a circumstance which may be confidently attributed, directly or indirectly, to the disappearance of the Neuter from the language. Such a word is *muileann*, 'mill,' a loan from the Latin *molendinum*. In most districts this word is Masculine, but it is Feminine in the island of Lewis and elsewhere. *Ugh*, 'egg,' the

cognate of (or a loan from) the Latin *ovum*, though Masculine over the greater part of the Scottish Gaelic area, is Feminine in several localities. So are *teine*, 'fire,' *sgeul*, 'tale,' *ubhall*, 'apple,' *eallach*, 'burden,' with many others, all originally Neuter, but now Masculine in one district, Feminine in another.

In Gaelic Grammar we reckon Nouns as Masc. or Fem. according as they take the Article and Adjective conjoined with them in the Masc. or Fem. form. But when we substitute a Pronoun for these Nouns, the Fem. Pron. sometimes represents a Noun which is by the Article and Adjective test, grammatically, Masculine. Some of these cases can be explained in a more or less satisfactory way. *Bàta*, 'boat,' and *soitheach*, 'vessel,' are Masc. nouns, *i.e.*, they take the Article and Adjective in the Masc. form; but they are invariably represented by the Fem. Pron. *ì*, 'she,' never by *è*, 'he.' In this case the explanation may be, probably is, that in Gaelic as in English every class of boat is treated as a 'she,' a circumstance natural enough in Gaelic from the fact that *long*, 'ship,' is and always has been Fem. In other cases where the subject is not a word but a clause or sentence the representing Pronoun is the Masc. which takes the place of the old Neuter. Thus *dh' ith na bà caola suas na bà reamhra, agus cha'n aithnichteadh orra* è, 'The lean cattle ate up the fat cattle, and *it* could not be known of them' (Gen. xli. 20). In the case of living beings Gaelic usage demands the pronoun that represents the Sex of the Subject rather than the Gender of the Noun. In this connection the observations of Dr. Stewart are so clear and to the point that they are well worth quoting (*Gr.*, p. 158).

'The Personal and Possessive Pronouns follow the Number of their Antecedents, *i.e.*, of the Nouns which they represent. Those of the third Person Sing. follow also the Gender of their Antecedent; as, *Sheas a' bhean aig* a *chosaibh, agus thòisich* i *air* am *fliuchadh le* a *deuraibh, agus thiormaich* i iad *le gruaig* a *cinn*, 'The woman stood at his feet, and she began to wet them with her tears, and she wiped

them with the hair of her head' (St. Luke vii. 38). They follow, however, not the Gender of the Antecedent, but the Sex of the creature signified by the Antecedent, in those words in which Sex and Gender disagree; as, *an gobhlan-gaoithe mar an ceudn' do sholair nead* dhi *fein*, 'The swallow, too, hath provided a nest for herself' (Ps. lxxxiv. 3). *Gobhlan-gaoithe*, 'swallow,' is a Masc. Noun, as appears by the Masc. Article; but as it is the dam that is spoken of, the reference is made by the Pers. Pron. to the Fem. Gender. *Ta gliocas air a fireanachadh le* a *cloinn*, 'Wisdom is justified by her children' (St. Matt. xi. 19). *Gliocas* is a Masc. Noun, but as Wisdom is here personified as a female, the regimen of the Poss. Pron. is adapted to that idea.'

There seems little doubt but that the sagacious author has hit upon the true explanation of the Gaelic usage in this matter, and that thus we must also explain the invariable use of the Fem. Pronoun to represent such words as *mart*, 'a cow,' *capull*, 'a mare,' and *boirionnach*, 'a female,' 'a woman,' with one or two others which are, grammatically, Masc. Nouns.

THE SCOTTISH RACE AND KINGDOM

JAMES FERGUSON

I

Two great developments in the history of Scotland are shrouded in mist, and present fascinating subjects for investigation and speculation. One is the process by which, in the long period between King Malcolm Canmore and the union of the Crowns, the Teutonic overshadowed the original Celtic element in the population of the Lowlands from the Forth to the Findhorn, and the Gaelic tongue was superseded by the English speech. The other is the earlier change by which the proper Scots, whose original territory was limited to the county of Argyll, became supreme over

the larger, more fertile and more populous provinces of the Picts, and imposed their name in the first place on Scotland north of the Forth, and in the second on the territory to the south, as far as the Cheviot range and the Solway shore.

The story of the times, in which the earlier change took place, is told in two different ways. There is the old fabulous history of which the most famous exponents are Boethius and Buchanan, which unhesitatingly deduced the descent of the Scottish Monarch, step by step through a hundred kings, from Fergus I., who lived 330 years before the birth of Christ, and which records a complete extermination of the Picts by Kenneth Macalpin about the year 850 A.D. There is the modern method based on the still older, more matter of fact, and to some extent contemporaneous records of the Irish annalists, the ancient Books of Wales, the Saxon Chronicle of the Northumbrian Bede, and the Norse Sagas, which refuses to accept or to record anything that is not found in these original sources. It has always seemed to me that both these methods are inadequate and, therefore, inaccurate, and that the true spirit in which to write the proper annals of a race or country is to narrate first the actual historical facts established or reasonably proved, and then to add the traditional and legendary history, except where it is disproved or inconsistent with ascertained fact, for what it is worth, stating always the caution of the old genealogist, 'This, though it has often been said and may be true, cannot, I believe, be instructed.' Keeping this caution in view, a further distinction falls to be drawn between the earlier mediæval chronicles prior to the War of Independence, on which both Fordun and Wyntoun have based their narratives, and the extended and ornamented achievements of the later historians, with their multiplicity of detail and their moral precedents for their own side of the controversies of their own day.

The old Irish traditions point to at least three different

settlements in Ireland. One was a dark race of apparently the same type as the Silures found by the Romans near the Welsh border, and possibly the Basques in Spain, and the Lapps. The second was apparently a Celtic race, and was probably represented by the Pictish population of part of Ulster. The third was the Scots or Sons of Miledh, said to be descended from a Greek who married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and who after being settled in the north of Spain ultimately invaded Ireland. Some of the legends point to a common origin of the Picts and Scots, and deduce both from Gaedhel Glass the son of Scota. A remarkable passage 'from an old book' quoted in the preface to M'Firbis's *Book of Genealogies* preserves the physical characteristics of the three races :—

'Every one who is white of skin, brown of hair, bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat, they are the descendants of the Sons of Miledh in Erin. Every one who is fair haired, vengeful, large ; and every plunderer ; every musical person ; the professor of musical and entertaining performances ; who are adepts in all Druidical and magical arts : they are the descendants of the Tuatha de Danaan in Erin. Every one who is black haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible ; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh and inhospitable person ; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among the people, these are the descendants of the Firbolg, the Fir Gailiun of Liogairne and of the Firdomnan in Erin. But however the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these.'

This description points clearly to the sons of Miledh or the Scots as a ruling race of superior physical and moral character, while the characteristics of the Tuatha de Danaan, have striking resemblance to these given by the Roman

writers of the Caledonian Picts, especially the ruddy hair and huge limbs noted by Tacitus.

Both the legendary and the historic Fergus of seven hundred years later are deduced from the royal race of Ireland. The first distinct historic reference to the Scots is in A.D. 360 when they attacked the Roman province of Britain coming apparently from Ireland. They appear at intervals until the curtain falls with the withdrawal of the Roman legions, and when it rises again the Scots are found established in Scottish Dalriada, the modern Argyll. In the *Synchronisms* of Flann Mainistrech, compiled in the early part of the eleventh century, it is stated that twenty years after the battle of Ocha in 478 the children of Erc passed over into Alban, and Tighhernac, who died in 1088, writes under the year 501: 'Fergus Mor, son of Erc, held a part of Britain with the tribe of Dalriada (*i.e.* the Irish Dalriada or north of Ulster) and died there.'

According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Fergus and his brothers 'went into Scotland to assist his maternal grandfather, Loarn, who was King of Dalriada and was much oppressed by his enemies the Picts,' and on his death, 'being of the Blood Royal by his mother,' was chosen to succeed him. It is interesting to note that according to an old Irish source, St. Patrick, to whom Fergus had been liberal in making a grant of land, blessed him and foretold that he should be king and his descendants rule over Alban.

Although this expedition is the foundation of the Scottish Kingdom in Scotland, and Fergus Mor of 500 A.D. was the real ancestor of the Scottish kings, there must have been communication between Ireland and Scotland long before, and there may have been earlier settlements of a less permanent nature which gave rise to the tradition that Fergus restored instead of founded a race and a dynasty. There was, however, a similar relation between the Scottish and Irish Picts. The Ossianic legends and the old Gaelic poems point to a very close connection at an earlier date, and whether Fingal, Diarmid and the other Ossianic

heroes were Pictish or Scottish Gaels their range in Scotland extended from the western shores of Argyll to at least Strathardle and Glenshee. They were probably Picts of the great Caledonian division. On the other hand some of the Highland Senachies deduced the descent of Fergus Mor from Fergus son of Fingall and brother of Ossian,—*Fergus Mac Arcaith, Mhic Chomgaill, Mhic Fhearghuis, mhic Fhingaill, nam buath,* the Victorious. The Scottish colony of 498 consisted of the Cinel Gabran, which occupied Cowal and Kintyre to the Moss of Crinan, being the descendants of Gabran and Comgall, the two sons of Domangart, son of Fergus; of the Cinel Angus, which settled in Islay and Jura, the descendants of Fergus's brother Angus; and of the Cinel Lorn, descendants of his other brother, Lorn, which occupied the district from the Moss of Crinan to Loch Leven. The names of Comgall and Lorn are preserved in the districts of Cowal and Lorn. The Tract on the Men of Alban of the fourteenth century describes 'the three powerfuls of Dalriada' as consisting of the Cinel Gabran of five hundred and threescore houses, the Cinel Angus of four hundred and thirty houses, and the Cinel Lorn of four hundred and twenty houses, their sea muster being in each case twice seven benches to each twenty houses. It gives the armed muster of the Cinel Gabran as three hundred men, of the Cinel Angus five hundred, and of the Cinel Lorn seven hundred men, adding 'but it is of the Airgialla that the seventh hundred is.' The Airgialla were probably the original inhabitants of the district of Mid-Argyll around Loch Awe, which was practically enveloped by the three tribes, whose capital was the fortified rock of Dunadd in the Moss of Crinan.

Fergus was succeeded by his son Domangart, and he by his son Comgall. Comgall was succeeded by his brother Gabran, who was killed in 560 by Brude Mac-Mailchu, King of the Picts. He was succeeded by Conall, son of Comgall, and on Conall's death, fourteen years later, the succession passed by the law of tanistry to the sons of Gabran, Aidan,

the younger son, being preferred in consequence of a vision vouchsafed to St. Columba, who solemnly inaugurated him in Iona. The connection between the royal race and the family of Iona was very close. Columba was himself by paternal descent a scion of the parent Irish house of the Hy Niall, his father Feidlimidh being son of Fergus Cennfoda, son of Conall Gulban, one of the eight sons of Niall, of the Nine Hostages,[1] and being connected in the female line with the kings of Dalriada. According to the old Irish Life of Columba, 'he was eligible to the kingship of Erin, according to family, and it was offered to him if he himself had not abandoned it for God.'

Drostan, the companion of Columba in his mission among the North-Eastern Picts, is described in the Breviary of Aberdeen as of the royal race of the Scots. Leslie says that he was King Aidan's uncle on the mother's side, and Major describes him as uncle on the mother's side of Eochy, son of Aidan. He is also said in the Breviary to have been sent to his uncle St. Columba, in Ireland.

King Aidan attended, along with Columba, the Council at Drumceat in Ireland in 375, when the Scottish Dalriads were freed from all tribute and exactions, but undertook

[1] While no definite conclusions can be drawn as to the ancestry of Fergus Mor, son of Erc, except that he was undoubtedly of the Royal race of the Scots in Ireland, it should be noted that three pedigrees are given. One (O'Hart's, *Irish Pedigrees*, *Annals of the Four Masters*) is the Irish one which makes him the great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and describes him as son of Muredach, son of Eoghanan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, one hundred and thirty-first monarch of Ireland (378-405), son of Eochy Muigmedon, the one hundred and twenty-sixth monarch. The second is the early mediæval pedigree, given with slight variations in the Tract on the Men of Alban, the Latin chronicles prior to 1300, recited according to Major by the Highland Senachie at the coronation of Alexander III., and also given by Fordun, which describes him as son of Erc or Erth, son of Eochy Muinremair. The third is the embellished and extended production of misty and fabulous monarchs, with alternating good and bad records, of Boece, Buchanan, and the later historians prior to the critical essay of Innes. The second class of pedigrees deduce the descent through thirty-three descents to Fergus, son of Ferchar, the traditional founder of the Scottish monarchy, which includes the names of two Irish monarchs, Conair and Edirsceol. The earliest Latin chronicle of 1165 says, 'Fergus filius Erc ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonar suscepit regnum Alban id est a Monte Drum-Alban usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegal.'

to join the parent stock in all hostings and expeditions. He seems to have largely extended the Dalriadic kingdom. He drove the Saxons out of Manaan, the country in the south-east of Stirlingshire, and, in a battle against the Picts between the Forth and Tay, he was victorious, aided, it is said, by the prayers of Columba in Iona, though four of his sons fell. He was, however, defeated, at the head of a combined force of Scots and Britons, by the Saxons under Aedilfrid, at Degsastan in Liddesdale, in 603. On his death in 606, he was succeeded by his son Eocha Buidhe, or the Yellow-haired, whom Columba had named as his successor. A beautiful tradition tells that on King Aidan presenting his three eldest sons to Columba, and asking which should succeed him, the saint sadly told him that all three would fall in battle, and asked for the younger children to be sent for. When they came in, a fair-haired boy ran forward and flung himself into the arms of Columba, who foretold that he would be the future king.

Eochaidh Buidhe seems to have transferred the throne of Scottish Dalriada to his son Conadh Cerr, and as his death is recorded as King of the Picts in 629, when he was fighting in Ireland in aid of the Irish Picts, Mr. Skene thinks that he had somehow acquired the sovereignty of the Picts of Galloway. Conadh Cerr was succeeded in the same year by his brother Domnall Breac, who was twice defeated by the Angles between the Roman wall and Edinburgh. Hitherto the two Christian nations, the Scots and Britons of Strathclyde, had been in alliance, but Domnall Breac, who had incurred the curse pronounced by Columba on any descendant of Aidan who should 'act unjustly against me and my kin,' and in spite of the obligation as to hostings and expeditions, had sided with the Irish Picts against the Scottish king of Ireland, was slain by King Oan of Strathclyde, in the upper part of the Carron valley in 642. It would appear that the Britons then established a domination over the Scots, who fell with them under the sway

of the Angles of Northumbria, being, as Adamnan says, 'trodden down by strangers.'

In 678 the Scots seem to have risen, under Fearchar Fada of the tribe of Lorn, and the defeat of the Saxons by the Picts at Dunnichen in 685 resulted in the Scots and a part of the Britons regaining their liberty. Two lines of descent are now recorded, that in the Cinel Gabran, consisting, after Domnall Breac, of his brother, Conall Crandomna and his two sons, Mailduin and Domnall Donn, who died in 696, and was succeeded by Eocha, grandson of Domnall Breac, who was slain in the following year. Ferchar Fada was in 697 succeeded by his son Ainbhcellaig, and he by his brother Sealbach, whose seat was at Dunolly, and who fought both against the Cinel Gabran and the Britons. In 723 Sealbach became a cleric, and was succeeded by his son Dungal. He was, however, driven out by Eochaidh, son of the Eochaidh, grandson of Domnall Breac, in 726, while Eochaidh's brother Alpin, whose name shows he had a Pictish mother, established himself on the Pictish throne. A more powerful champion existed among the four claimants to the Pictish throne, and Alpin was defeated at Moncreiff by Angus MacFergus, and subsequently by Nectan at Caislen Credi or Scone. Angus ultimately vanquished all his competitors, and the death of Eochaidh having led to an uprising of the family of Lorn, and Dungal, who again seized the throne, having taken captive Angus's son in Ireland, Angus MacFergus, the greatest of all the Pictish kings, invaded Dalriada, took Dunadd, and so completely overwhelmed the race that the tribe of Lorn made a desperate attempt upon the district on the south of the Forth, where they were defeated, while Alpin, who, at the head of the Cinel Gabran, reigned four years after Dungal was thrown into chains by Angus, invaded Galloway with the part of the Dalriadic nation which followed him, and was slain there, after having laid waste and almost destroyed the country of the Picts. This was in 741, and he is said to have been killed by a single man, who lay in wait in a wood

at a ford. There is such a place on the east of Loch Ryan, at the border line between Carrick and Galloway, where there stands a large pillar stone known as Laight Alpin, or the grave of Alpin.

It has to be remembered that the succession to the Pictish throne was through females, and that up to this time no instance occurs of the son of a previous king succeeding. The fathers are frequently men of another race, one being a prince of the Saxon house of Northumbria, and another a Strathclyde Briton. The name of Angus MacFergus suggests that his father may have been a Scot, and if so, he may have had some claim to the throne of Dalriada. It is remarkable that the first occasion on which the son of a previous king comes to the throne is in the case of Talorgan, son of Angus, in 780, who followed three intervening kings, and this break in upon the law of Pictish succession may be the result of Scottish ideas.

It is also to be observed that the next instance is the case of the successor of the second Angus MacFergus in 834, who was the son of his brother and predecessor, Constantin MacFergus, and it seems 'probable that they belonged to the royal family of which the first Angus, son of Fergus, was the founder, and which appears to have been peculiarly connected with Fortrenn,' the frontier province of the Picts between the Forth and the Tay. Both Constantin and Angus are recorded as ruling in Dalriada.

In 765, in the period between the death of the first Angus and his brother Brude, sons of the first Fergus, and the accession of Constantin and the second Angus, sons of the second Fergus, the Scots seem to have risen in Dalriada, under Aedfin, son of Ecdach, who is called King of Dalriada in the Ulster Annals, and died in 778. The death of Fergus Mac-Echach (apparently his brother), King of Dalriada, is recorded in 781. In 832 there appears as a claimant for the Pictish throne, Alpin, King of the Scots, a Scot by paternal descent, but whose name, like

that of the previous Alpin, shows that his mother was a Pict. The mediæval chroniclers call her Fergusia, daughter of Hung or Angus, King of the Picts. The Chronicle of Huntingdon records that 'in the year 834 [a mistake for 832, which Skene identifies as the true date], there was a conflict between the Scots and Picts at Easter, and many of the more noble of the Picts were slain, and Alpin, King of the Scots, remained victorious, but being elated with his success, he was, in another battle fought on the 20th of July in the same year, defeated and decapitated.' Pitelpie, formerly Pitalpin, near Dundee, is the traditional site of this battle, and Rathelpin, or the Fort of Alpin, near St. Andrews, 'seems,' says Skene, 'to indicate that it was in the province of Fife that he found his support and established himself after his first success.' With this Alpin, the father of Kenneth, we touch definite historic ground, after an interval of ninety-one years from the death of the previous Alpin, the last established monarch of Dalriada in direct descent of the family of Aidan and Fergus.

The mediæval lists of the kings only recognise the later Alpin and have evidently confused the two. They give fairly correctly the early monarchs of the house of Fergus down to Domnall Breac. The names which follow are evidently taken partly from his descendants, partly from the house of Lorn, and partly from the Pictish rulers of Dalriada. Five years after his father's death appears Kenneth, the son of Alpin, of whom the Pictish chronicle says that he 'first of the Scots governed Pictavia happily for 16 years. Two years, however, before he came to Pictavia he acquired the kingdom of Dalriada.' The Chronicle of Huntingdon says that he 'succeeded his father Alpin in his kingdom and that in the seventh year of his reign, which corresponds with the year 839, while the Danish pirates, having occupied the Pictish shores, had crushed the Picts, who were defending themselves, with a great slaughter, Kenneth passing into their remaining territories turned his

arms against them and having slain many compelled them to take flight, and was the first King of the Scots who acquired the monarchy of the whole of Alban and ruled in it over the Scots.' In his twelfth year, it says, he 'encountered the Picts seven times in one day, and having destroyed many confirmed the kingdom to himself.' These dates correspond with a terrible defeat of the Picts by the Danes in 839 in which their king, his brother, and the Pictish ruler of Dalriada all fell, and with the date of the last Pictish King in the Pictish Chronicle, whose reign terminated in 844. It seems, therefore, clear that Kenneth inherited a kingdom from his father, and that it was not Dalriada, which he is recorded as conquering first. Unfortunately there is a blank in the Irish Annals of Tighernac between the years 765 and 973, and there is also a hiatus in the Pictish chronicle, but from four of the later chronicles, Mr. Skene thinks the hiatus can be supplied, and the account they give contains the statement that the Scots inhabited Galloway along with the Picts, to which Giraldus Cambrensis adds 'they effected an extension of their territories,' and the Scala Chronica adds 'as also Argyll and the Isles.' It proceeds to give the traditionary account of the conquest of the Picts.

We have seen that Eochaidh Buidhe had passed from Dalriada to rule in Galloway, and that there his descendant, the first Alpin, after conquering the country, had met his death. It seems, therefore, probable that the kingdom of the second Alpin to which Kenneth succeeded was Galloway. Galloway at an early period included Carrick, into which there seems to have been a considerable Scottish immigration from Kintyre, and Gaelic was spoken in Carrick in Queen Mary's time, and in Pictish Galloway so late as the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century. The question then comes, what was the later Alpin's connection with the original royal house of Dalriada. That he was a descendant is the unvarying testimony of all the narratives, but there is obscurity as to the precise links. After Fergus,

the first king, there had ruled, second, Domangart; third, his son, Comgall; and fourth, Comgall's son, Conall, who received St. Columba; fourth, Gabran, brother of Comgall; and sixth, Aidan, son of Gabran; and seventh Eochaidh Buidhe, son of Aidan.

Mr. Skene points out that St. Berchan in his so-called prophecy (of the twelfth century), after a few stanzas which refer to Conall, son of Comgall, passes at once to the reign of Kenneth Macalpin with these words:—

> 'A son of the clan of his son will possess
> The kingdom of Albany by virtue of his strength.'

Conall had seven sons. The Tract on the Men of Alban, which gives a detailed account of the descendants of Fergus Mor for some generations, gives another notice, and says that from Eochaidh Buidhe, son of Aidan, there branched off two clans, 'the clan Fergusa Gall, son of Eachach Buidhe or the Gabranaigh, and the clan Conall Cerr, son of Eachach Buidhe, who are the men of Fife in the Sovereignty, that is the clan of Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Aidan.' Conall Cerr succeeded his father as King of Dalriada, and was killed fighting against him and his Galloway Picts in Ireland in 629. We have seen that the existence of a Rathelpin in Fife indicates that Alpin had a special foothold in that province, and in 807, a Conall, son of Aidan, killed Conall, son of Tadg, the Pictish governor in Kintyre. It may therefore be the case that Alpin, father of Kenneth, and son of Aidan, was descended from Conall Cerr, son of Eachach Buidhe, and Mr. Skene suggests that the line of succession may have reverted from the descendants of Domnall Breac to those of Conall Cerr, his brother and predecessor, among whom may have been the Aed finn, recorded as King of Dalriada in 778. On the other hand the genealogy in the Tract of the Men of Alban gives a connected line thus: 'Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Eachach, son of Aeda find, son of Eachach, son of Domangart, son of Domnall Breac,' deducing the later Alpin from a son of Domnall Breac,

called Domangart. The mediæval chroniclers make their Alpin the son of Achaius (the Latinised form of Eocha), who is treated as a great potentate who made the league with Charlemagne and added the tressure flory counter flory to the Scottish Royal Arms, and call this Achaius, the son of Ethfin or Aed finn. The discrepancy between St. Berchan and the Tract on the Men of Alban is accounted for by the existence of the two Conalls.

Kenneth Macalpin was succeeded by his brother Donald, and the Pictish Chronicle contains the significant statement that in his time the Gael established with their king in Forteviot the rights and laws of the kingdom of Edus, son of Ecdach, Edus being the Aedfin who made the stand in Dalriada against the Picts. It is clear that he was a ruler who had largely influenced the institutions of his race and was remembered with respect It appears to me that the pedigrees given in the Irish Tract on the Men of Alban (before 1372), and the early Latin Chronicles of 1165, 1187 and 1251, deserve careful consideration, the distinction being always kept in view between the value of these chronicles as lists of monarchs supposed to have ruled over the whole of Dalriada, and their value when they record direct descent. For this purpose the kings whose descendants either died out or did not succeed, the kinglets of the house of Lorn, the Pictish rulers introduced in some lists and the statement as to the later Alpin being killed in Galloway, may be left out of view. This being done it is found that all these chroniclers give a direct descent of Kenneth Macalpin from father to son, as follows :—

Fergus.
Domangart.
Gabran.
Aidan.
Eochaidh Buidhe, d. 629.
Donald Breac, whose death is variously recorded in 642 and 686.
Domangart (killed in 673).

Eachach, described as Eachach of the bent nose (*habens curvum nasum*), *rineamhail, ronnauel, monanle,* son of Domangart, son of Domnall Breac (*c.* 733).

Aeda find or Ed-albus, son of Eachach *curvi nasi,* whose death as *rex Dalriata* is recorded in 778.

Eachach, or Eochal *venenosus filius Edalbi,* or Eocha *anuine* or *Angbhaidh.*

Alpin, son of *Eochal venenosi.*

Kenneth Macalpin.

With this the genealogy of William the Lyon of 1185, the Scala Chronica, and the Norman chronicle of the Picts and Scots of 1317 all correspond, the simplest form being the direct genealogy in the Irish Tract on the Men of Alban.

With the omission of one link, the name of the second Domangart, who never ruled, the same descent is given by Major as recited by 'the wild Scot hoary with age,' who appeared at the coronation of Alexander III., the names, running backward, being: 'Kenneth filius Alpini f. Ethachi, f. Ethafind, f. Echdachi, f. Donaldi Brek, f. Occabuid, f. Edain, f. Gobrann, f. Dovengard, f. Fergusii Magni, f. Erth, f. Eachach Munremoire.'

Some versions introduce another Eachach or Echadach, son of Eachach of the bent nose, as the father of Aeda-find, and the Annals of Tighernac record the death in 733 of Eochach MacEchach *Ri Dalriada,* while the Annals of Ulster record the death in 697 of 'Euchu nepos Domhaill,' grandson of Donald. It seems, therefore, certain that there were two Eachachs at this time, that the earlier, who only reigned for one year, was the son of Domangart, and that his son was the Eachach, the father (or brother) of Aeda find.

If the genealogy is correct—and as it is undoubtedly correct down to Domnall Breac, it appears to me that it is probably also correct as to the later generations more likely to be remembered—it completely answers the question to which branch of the Cinel Gabran did Kenneth belong, and the only remaining question is whether there are a sufficient

number of generations between Donald Breac and Kenneth. If the version which gives ten generations is correct Eochaidh of the bent nose had three sons, the Eochaidh recorded as succeeding him, who died in 733; Alpin who was killed in Galloway in 741 and Aedfin who is credited with a reign of thirty years, and who died as king of a portion of Dalriada in 788. If the true number of generations is eleven, the second Eocha was the father and not the brother of Aeda-find. The younger Alpin might well have a claim on the elder Alpin's conquest of Galloway, and the mention of his grandfather as *rex Dalriadi* suggests that at that time he ruled in the original territory of the Cinel Gabran in Kintyre, from which communication with Galloway was easy. The distinct statement of Wyntoun ought not to be overlooked :—

> 'An fra this Fergus doun be lyne
> Descendand even was be lyne,
> Kennath yat was aught hundred yere
> And thre and fourtie passit cleir,
> Eftir the blessed Nativitie
> Or regnand he begouth to be
> Fra the Peyhtis was put out.
> The tend man without doubt
> Was Kenaught Mack alpyne
> Fra this Fergus even be lyne.'

Excluding Fergus, who died in 503, and Kenneth Macalpin, whose father was killed in 834, we have at least ten generations in 330 years. Applying an example from my own family as a test, I find that in a period of almost exactly 200 years (1705-1904), there were five generations, from the death of one ancestor to that of another. If the account which gives Donald Breac's date of death as 686 be correct, the first five generations of the ten covered a period of 183 years, and the second five a period of 148 years. If 642 be taken as the proper date, and this seems to be correct, the first five generations occupied 139 years, and the second five 192. The ten generations give an average of 33 years, the five I have used as an illustration

one of 40 years, the later date assigned to Donald Breac's death one of 36 for the first five and 29 for the second five, and the earlier date one of nearly 28 for the first five, and of a little over 38 for the second five. If the real number of generations was eleven, the average for each is 30 years, and the average for the six who succeeded Donald Breac after 642 is 32. There is, therefore, no impossibility in reconciling the number of generations with the period occupied, and it does not appear to me that either the vague statement of St. Berchan, or the inserted mysterious passage, apparently from an older version, in the Tract on the Men of Alban, as to 'the Men of Fife in the sovereignty *i.e.*, the clan of Alpin, son of Aidan,' there being no record of any Aidan as the father of Alpin, and the Prophecy and the Tract, being contradictory of each other, is sufficient to displace the direct pedigree given in the same Tract. It is possible that the expression 'son of Aidan' may refer either to Aeda find his grandfather, or to his ancestor King Aidan, the greatest of the Dalriadic kings, and it will be seen that there are traces of carelessness and mistake in the passage in the Tract on the Men of Alban, on which Mr. Skene's argument is founded. As other words have obviously been slipped in in the wrong places, it is quite possible that the words 'son of Eochaidh' have been left out between 'Alpin' and 'son of Aidan.' The result is that there is no sufficient ground to discredit the direct pedigrees given by the earlier mediæval chroniclers, for the period between Fergus and Kenneth as records of actual descent, that for the earlier portion of that period they are fully corroborated, and that for the later portion there are adminicles of evidence in sources beyond suspicion, which are consistent with, and indeed support, the pedigree.

II

Of the character of the conquest by Kenneth Macalpin, it seems clear that it was rather a dynastic triumph than

a racial subversion. The mediæval chroniclers embellish it with romantic episodes, such as the device employed by Kenneth to rouse the faltering spirits of the Scottish chiefs by the apparition of a man clothed in a robe covered with fish scales to represent a heavenly messenger, and the invitation of the great lords of the Picts to a banquet, where the seats were undermined, and those who occupied them slain easily in the hollow places into which they were precipitated when the supports were withdrawn. There are, however, historical facts sufficiently significant, whether these stories be artistic inventions, or traditions founded on real facts. One is the weakening of the Pictish power by the Danish invasions. Another is the extent to which the Pictish rule of succession had already been weakened by the descendants of Angus MacFergus. It only required the presence of a king strong enough, while having a good personal claim under the Pictish law, to alter it permanently in favour of his descendants, and even under Kenneth's successors there seems to have been one case in which the Pictish custom cast its weight into the scale. Most important of all were the facts that the two peoples were of kindred race and common language, and the influence of the Columban Church. The close connection of the Picts with the Angles of Northumbria had resulted in the supersession of the Columban rule by that of Rome, under Nectan MacDerili, the Pictish king, in 710, and the expulsion of the Columban clergy from the Pictish territories east of Drumalban in 717. The great Angus MacFergus had founded the monastery of St. Andrews before 747. The connection of his successors with Dalriada led, however, apparently to a reversion of friendliness to the Columban Church, and when the church of Iona had been plundered by the Norwegian pirates in 794, burnt by them in 802, and the community of Iona slain by them in 806, Constantin Mac Fergus founded the church of Dunkeld, and the influence of the Columban Church again began to affect the regions of the southern Picts. The Pictish Chronicle records that

in the seventh year of his reign over the Picts, *i.e.* 851, Kenneth Macalpin transferred the relics of St. Columba to a church which he had built, and Dunkeld became the head centre of the Scottish Church.

That there was any wholesale extermination of the Pictish population seems most improbable. One of the old legends of the earlier Pictish settlements says that the Picts conquered Alban from Cath to Forcu, but 'without destroying the people.' The Scottish conquest might well be expressed in the same terms. There is probably much truth in the traditions of dire misfortune overtaking the chiefs and nobles of the Picts. There would be forfeitures and replacements, and as time went on the higher positions and rights of property and overlordships would more and more pass into the hands of Scots connected with, or rendering good service to the royal house. The chief line of invasion and immigration would be from Dalriada, through Breadalbane, and down the Tay, the Earn, and the Pass of Leny, and a population of Scottish race would tend to increase and preponderate on these lines in Atholl, around Dunkeld, and in the vicinity of the capitals at Forteviot and Scone. Indeed, the true relation of the Scots to the other Celtic races seems to me to present a remarkable parallel to that of the Normans to the other Teutonic races. Not numerous in comparison with the others, they seem to have been the bravest warriors, and exemplars of the highest type of religion in the ages of their supremacy. The notion which presents them as barbarian invaders, destroying a higher civilisation established among the Picts, seems quite untenable, and their superiority, and the introduction of their law of Succession, Church, and customs was in its day a development and advance, just as in a later age Queen Margaret's reforms, and the establishment of feudal charter rights, were an advance on their own. The one hundred and fifty men who, according to the Tract on the Men of Alban, crossed the Irish Channel with Fergus Mor, had developed under Aidan into a military

kingdom, which carried its arms to the Forth and the Cheviots, and even, according to one entry, to the Orkneys. In spite of reverses and disasters, the race rallied to such an extent, that under Kenneth Macalpin it had established the centre of its kingdom on the banks of the Tay. He and one or two of his successors are still found recorded as Kings of the Picts, but in a generation or two the name of Pict is forgotten, the country north of the Forth as far as Moray is Scotia; and when the direct line of the royal race fails with Alexander III., four hundred years after King Kenneth's day, the repeated invasions of the Danes and Norsemen have left no permanent conquest, and Norman, Saxon, Pict, Briton, and Scot, from the Cheviots to the Pentland Firth, are welded into one whole as the Kingdom of Scotland.

The chief steps in that process may be briefly summarised. The succession followed the Gaelic rule of tanistry, giving preference to brothers over sons. Kenneth was succeeded by his brother Constantin (863), who fell in battle with the Danes in Fife in 877, and he by another brother Aedh, who was slain at Inverurie in the following year. Under Pictish law the succession then fell to Eocha, son of Run the King of the Strathclyde Britons, whose mother was a daughter of Kenneth Macalpin, and the Pictish party prevailed for the time, Eocha being placed on the throne while Ciricius or Grig, known to the mediæval historians as Gregory the Great, also of British descent, was associated with him. Both were driven out after eleven years, and Donald, son of Constantin, the heir by Scottish law, succeeded and reigned till 900, when he was killed by the Danes at Dunottar. He was succeeded by Constantin, son of Aedh (900 to 940), in whose time the old line of the British kings of Strathclyde failed, and the Britons elected Donald, Constantin's brother. Constantin, retiring in his old age to the Monastery of St. Andrews, was succeeded by Malcolm, son of his predecessor, Donald, who after having Cumbria or Strathclyde handed over to

him by the Northumbrian Saxons, was killed by the men of the Mearns at Fetteresso in 954. Under his successor Indulph (954-962), Edinburgh was surrendered to the Scots. He was succeeded by Duff, slain at Forres in 967, and he by Cullen, who was slain by the Britons in 971. His successor, Kenneth, fortified the fords of Forth, 'gave Brechin to the Lord,' and was slain at Fettercairn in 995. His successor, Constantin MacCulindin, was slain two years after. Kenneth, the next king, fell in 1004 in 'a battle among the men of Alban themselves.' Malcolm, the next king, after defeating the Saxons at Carham in 1018, extended the frontier of Scotland to the Tweed, while the line of the British kings of Strathclyde, descended from the Scottish Donald, terminated in his time, and Strathclyde is henceforth found as a principality under the son of the Scottish monarch. He died in 1034, leaving no male issue, but his grandson by his daughter Bethoc, who had married Crinan the lay Abbot of Dunkeld, 'the gentle Duncan,' succeeded him. He was murdered by Macbeth, who held the kingdom in alliance with the Norsemen of Caithness who had overrun the northern provinces, for seventeen years (1040 to 1057). The short-lived career of Macbeth's relative 'Lulach the fool' does not break the historical record. Under Malcolm Canmore (1057-1095) the kingdom was further consolidated, and after the reign of Donald Bane, the last example of succession according to the law of tanistry (1093), Duncan (1093-4), Donald Bane again and Eadmund (1094 - 1097), Edgar (1097- 1107), Alexander I. (1107-1124), reduced the rebellious province of Moray. David I. (1124-1153) was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm (1153-1165), who finally subdued the recalcitrant provinces of Galloway and Moray, from the latter of which Fordoun, with probably some exaggeration, says he removed the native population 'and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and on this side thereof so that not even a native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful

people.' William the Lyon (1166-1214) put down revolts in Galloway and Moray, and subdued the provinces of Ross and Caithness. His son Alexander II. (1214-1249) subdued Argyll, which had been practically independent under the house of Somerled, and his son Alexander III. (1249-1285) defeated the Norsemen at Largs and completed the consolidation of the kingdom by the annexation of the Western Isles. With his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, who died in 1290 on the way from Norway to take possession of her kingdom, the direct line of the monarchy of the Scottish Celtic race terminated.

The three great branches of the Dalriad Scots were the Cinel Gabran, the Cinel Lorn and the Cinel Angus, to which is sometimes added the Cinel Comgall or the descendants of Comgall, the brother of Gabran. The Tract on the Men of Alban also indicates further subdivisions of these houses. Thus 'the three powerfuls' of the Cinel Lorn were the Cinel Fergusa Salach, the Cinel Cathbath, whose *jugulatio* is recorded in 701, and the Cinel Eachaidh, son of Muredach. In recording the descent of Kenneth Macalpin, two versions continue after the reference to his father Alpin: 'Son of Eachach, son of Aeda find, son of Domangart; *here branch off the Cinel Gabran and the Cinel Comgall*; son of Domnall Breac son of Eachachbuidhe; *here branch off the Clan Fergusa Gall, son of Eachach buidhe* id est, *the Gabranaig and the Clan Conall Cerr, son of Eachach buidhe* id est, *the men of Fife in the Sovereignty* id est, *the Clan of Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Aedan; here branch off the Clan Eachach buidhe, the men of the halfshare of Conaing* (*of the half land*), son of Aidan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart, son of Fergus Mor, son of Erc; *here branch off the Cinel Lorn Mac Erc, the Cinel Angus, the Cinel Gabran and the Cinel Comgall.*'

The first reference as to the branching off of the Cinel Gabran and the Cinel Comgall after the name of the later Domangart seems to be a repetition and clerical error, caused by the existence of the two Domangarts, for it was

of course from the sons of the first Domangart that these houses came.

Thus in addition to the four great tribes, we have descendants of Eachach Buidhe, known as the Clan Fergusa Gall, and the Clan Conall Cerr who are described as the men of Fife, the Clan Eachach Buidhe and the men of the half-share of Conaing. It seems possible that here we have indications of settlements either then or at a subsequent date in Fife and possibly in Galloway, where Eachach Buidhe reigned and where the Scottish name Ferguson is frequent, and the family of Craigdaroch on the borders of Galloway and Dumfriesshire, said to be the oldest in the south of Scotland, carry the lion rampant on their arms. The family of Kilkerran in Carrick, who carry different arms, similar to those borne by the same name in Atholl and Aberdeenshire, by tradition came from Atholl before the time of Robert the Bruce. The race of Conaing have been located in Kintyre.

The district of the Lennox was originally the British territory of Reged, and in the end of the tenth century the Scottish King of Scone, whose predecessors had been killed by the Britons, found it desirable to fortify the fords of Forth. By the twelfth century, however, it was occupied by a Gaelic population, ruled over by Earls, whose alleged Saxon descent, as given by the earlier peerage writers, seems erroneous, while their names correspond with the Celtic origin attributed to them in the Irish pedigrees. It is probable that the district was occupied by Scots, and curiously enough, it is found associated with one of the clans mentioned in the Tract on the Men of Alban, and the only one whose name corresponds to that of a modern clan. The Annals of Ulster record that in 1216, 'Trad O'Mailfabhail, chief of Cinel Fergusa, with his brothers and many others was slain by Muireadhach, son of the Mormaer of Lennox.' It must, however, be kept in view that, apart from the Scottish Fergusons from Ayr and Galloway who settled in Ulster at the Plantation and in Covenanting times, there was an old Irish Cinel

Fergusa, descended from Fergus, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. It is, however, unlikely that an Earl of Lennox would be fighting in Ireland so late as the year in which William the Lyon died.

The district of Atholl was the territory of the lay abbots of Dunkeld, and on the settlement of their line on the throne, in the person of Malcolm Canmore, the earldom was conferred on a branch of the Royal House, the first of whom was Melmare, brother of Malcolm III. The oldest clans of the district were the Fergusons, who always followed the Earls of Atholl, and were numerous there and in Balquhidder, who have been described as the oldest clan in the Highlands, and to whom tradition and the bards attribute descent from King Fergus, and the Robertsons, who are descended from and were apparently the male representatives of the old Celtic Earls of Atholl. Both of these clans may be safely set down as Scots proper, and of the race of Fergus.

How or when the family of Alpin acquired its connection with Fife, and to what extent Scots, as distinguished from Pictish Gaels, settled there it is impossible to tell, but undoubtedly the province was closely associated both with the house of Kenneth, and, after the defeat of Macbeth, with that of Malcolm Canmore, and its recognition as a bulwark of the Scottish monarchy is attested by the privileges conferred in 'the Law of Clan Macduff.' That the families of Arbuthnot and Spens were of Scottish, or, at least, Gaelic, descent to some extent is indicated by their claim to participate in these privileges, in virtue of their kinship to the Celtic Earls of Fife. The old Earls of Fife were admittedly of Celtic and probably Scottish descent, and the Strathbogie Earls of Atholl were a branch of their race.

Two of the greatest names in the borders suggest that the founders of these families were Scots who settled there after the conquest of Lothian. One is that of Scott, which speaks for itself as the designation given by a Saxon or

British population to one of another race, and the other that of Kerr, which is a descriptive Gaelic denomination.

The extent of the Scottish element in Galloway is impossible to ascertain. The people were the last to retain the name of Picts, yet they had been for years in subjection to the Angles of Northumbria, and had been subsequently, at least so far as the coast districts were concerned, under the domination of the Norwegians. In the twelfth century it is found under the rule of native chiefs of Celtic descent, the first of whom is Fergus, Prince of Galloway, of whose birth and lineage no trace exists. Whether he was a Scot or a Pict it is impossible to say, but the Galloway over which he ruled included Carrick, where the Gaelic population was probably a Scottish one, superseding an older British one, and between which and the Galloway Picts, the feelings, even in comparatively modern times, were far from cordial. His name suggests that Fergus was of Scottish blood. The Kennedy Earls of Cassilis are descended from the old Celtic Earls of Carrick, themselves the progeny of Fergus of Galloway, through Roland of Carrick, who got a charter of the headship of the clan as 'Ken Kynol' from Earl Neil before 1256, and John Kennedy of Dunure, 'Captain of the Clan Muintircasduff' (the people of the blackfeet), about 1346.

The original territory of the Scots in Dalriada or Argyll and the adjacent islands had, in the period between the ninth and twelfth centuries, been swept and subdued by the Norsemen. With the weakening of their power, the native tribes arose, under Somerled, whose father's and grandfather's names are Gaelic, and the result was the founding of the great house of the Lords of the Isles, and the rise of the great clans of Macdonald and Macdougall. I see no reason to suppose that the race of Somerled were Picts rather than Scots, and indeed some pedigrees trace them to a younger son of Fergus, and the chief seat of their power was in Islay, which had been Scottish territory, while the physical characteristics attributed to them in an old Irish

poem correspond with those that distinguished the Milesian stock.

The Irish genealogies of several of the Highland clans, which date from about the year 1400, and on which the MS. of 1467 in the Advocates' Library is based, indicate that the Highland clans fall into several classes. The older descent is mythical and obviously fabulous.

1. The Campbells and MacLeods are taken back to Fergus Leith Dearg, son of Nemedh, who is placed long before Picts and Scots appear in Ireland. But it may indicate that these clans were in Scotland before the Scots, and are therefore of Pictish descent, and the Campbells are found in the district of Mid-Argyll, which was not settled by the Dalriads.

2. The race of Somerled is traced to Colla Uais, son of Eochaid Doimlein, King of Ireland.

3. From the Hy Niall of Ireland are brought the Lamonds, Maclachlans, Clan Somairle, and MacEwen of Otter.

4. From Corc, son of Lughaidh, King of Munster, of the line of Heber, are said to be descended the Celtic Earls of Mar and Lennox.

The above have no connection with the family of Erc, although several of the clans mentioned inhabited Scottish Dalriada, and the last three groups are of Scottish race; but the remaining genealogies are all deduced from the Dalriadic tribe of Lorn, and may be classified thus :—

> From Fearchar fada, son of Fearadach finn, who died in 697, and is given as descended from Muredach, son of Lorn Mor—The Clan Duff, the Macnaughtons, the Clan an Toshach, *i.e.*, the Clan Gillachattan, and the Clan Cameron.
>
> From Fearchar Abraruadh, son of Feradach—The MacLeans, the Colquhouns in Lennox, and the Clan Consithe in Fife.
>
> From Donald Donn, son of Fearadach—The Clan Lauren (MacLarens), the Clan Aid or Ay.

From Cormac, son of Aibertach, son of Feradach —(*a*) The clan Annrias (Rosses), the Clan Kenneth (Mackenzies), the Mathesons, and the Macduffies; (*b*) the MacNabs; (*c*) the Clan Gregor; (*d*) the Clan Quarry, the McKinnons, the Macmillans, and the MacLennans.

It is at once remarkable that these genealogies are all traced from the tribe of Lorn, and that several of them are genealogies of great clans in Moray, Ross and Inverness, far outside the bounds of Dalriada. It is still more remarkable that there is no trace of any descended from the elder sons of Lorn, or from the Cinel Gabran, the Cinel Comgall, or the Cinel Angus. Mr. Skene in his examination has pointed out that these genealogies are generally trustworthy up to about the date of Kenneth Macalpin, but that the connection with the Dalriadic Lorn Mor completely breaks down. 'They may,' he says, 'be regarded as trustworthy only in so far as they show the links of the descent of each clan from its eponymus as believed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the grouping of certain clans together where a common ancestor within the historic period is assigned to them.' Probably the Aibertach, from whom several of the clans are deduced was an actual personage, at a later date than he is assigned to, for he is said to have had twelve tribes inhabiting the Norwegian territory, viz. Greagraid of the champions commonly called Mull, and Tiroda (Tiree), and Cruibhinis or Craobhinis (or Island of Bushes—Iona). It is probable that to some extent the clans whose genealogies are thus given, and who in historical times are found holding possessions in Lorn, in Breadalbane and Balquhidder, and in Lennox, were really descended, as believed, from the family of Lorn, and were at any rate of Scottish extraction. The same, however, cannot be predicated, though it may be true, of the Lochaber and Badenoch clans, and it becomes more improbable in those of Moray and Ross.[1]

[1] There is a passage in M'Firbis's *Book of Genealogies* which ought also to be kept in view, of which he says, 'This account I found among the books of Fardeorough

It appears to me that the conclusion arrived at by Skene is irresistible, that the mass of the population of the Highlands north of Argyll and possibly Atholl, were the descendants of the old Pictish tribes, who formed the northern or Caledonian Picts. At the same time much happens in a few centuries, and some of the most famous Highland clans, such as the Frasers, Menzies, and Stuarts were of Norman, or as the Murrays and Sutherlands of alleged Flemish descent, though it is more probable that the original Freskin was a Gael of Moray. The comparatively brief period in which a clan could rise is illustrated by the history of the Farquharsons. Scots as well as Normans may have accompanied the monarch in the assertion of his power benorth the Mounth, and Scots were in the field two hundred years before Malcolm Canmore's Saxons, and another half-century before King David I.'s Normans. It is quite possible that individuals penetrated to the north and founded successful families, and that however erroneous the details of the descent may be, where links are obviously wanting, there is some basis of fact for the tradition.

It cannot be assumed that the Mormaers of the great Pictish provinces, whose names are recorded in historic times, were themselves Picts. Indeed the statement in the Book of Deer, which says that when Columba came there 'Bede the Pict' was Mormaer of Buchan, may suggest that his later successors at least were Scots. In the case of Angus there is the tradition that King Kenneth was killed in 995, by Finella, in revenge for the death of her son, killed by him at Dunsinnan, Finella being the daughter

M'Firbis, who was a Sennachaidhe well acquainted in Alban and much frequented it':—

'The Clan Domnall, Clann Ragnall, Clann Alasdair, Clan Tsithig (Sheehy), Clann Eachan, Clan Eadhain, Clann Dubgall, and Clann Ragnall Mhic Domnall Ghlais are of the race of Eremon.

'Mac Gille-Eoin or Mac Gille a Ea-in (MacLean), the two MacLeods (Harris and Lewis), Mac Cennigh (Mackenzie), Mac-a-Toisigh (Mackintosh), Murmor Hundon (Mormaire of Moray?) are of the race of Conaire.

'Murmor Abhail (Mormaer of Atholl), Murmor Mair (Mormaer of Mar), Murmor Gall (Mormaer of Galloway), Mac Cennedig (Kennedys), Muirgeach Og, Lord of Granta (Grants), Mac Cregan (Macgregors?) are also of the race of Eremon.'

of Conquhar, Mormaer of Angus, and the probability being that the later Celtic Mormaers of Angus were Scots. In the Irish MS. the line of the historic Mormaers of Moray, including both Macbeth and Lulach, Kings of Scotland, is given in the genealogy of the Clan Duff as among the descendants of Lorn Mor. It is most probable that just as these dignities passed later to Normans either by marriage or grant, so between the Scottish conquest and the Norman immigration they passed from Picts to Scots.

The traditions of one group of clans deserve special consideration as they assert a descent from the Scottish Royal House. The proud motto of the Macgregors is 'Is rioghail mo dhream,' 'Royal is my race,' and they and the connected clans known as Clan Alpin claim descent from Kenneth Macalpin. The *siol Alpin* includes the clan Gregor, the Grants, the Mackinnons, Macquarries, Macnabs and Macaulays. Bonds of Manrent exist between the Macgregors and the Mackinnons, the Mackinnons and the Macnabs, and the Macgregors and the Macaulays, in all of which relationship is affirmed, and an early connection between the Grants and Macgregors is undoubted. The Irish genealogies indicate that the group of clans to which the Macgregors and others of the *siol Alpin* are assigned, belonged to the great tribe of Ross, and in any case descent from Kenneth Macalpin is inconsistent with descent from Lorn Mor. The earliest possessions of the Macgregors were in Glenorchy, and the Macnabs in Glendochart, but it may be that when Alexander II. reduced Argyll, in which he was powerfully aided by the Earl of Ross, he planted the ancestors of these clans there. A similar explanation may be given for the settlement of the Macnaughtons, a branch of Clan Chattan, on Loch Awe and Loch Fyne, or it may be that the Clan Chattan, being the chief branch of the great tribe of Moray, they were brought by Malcolm, when he expatriated the men of Moray, placed them in new lands on both sides of the mountains, and replaced them with 'his own peaceful people.'

It is indeed remarkable how many of the great nobles of Scotland at the time of Robert the Bruce, including Mar, Fife, and Atholl, Lennox and Strathearn, were of direct male Scottish descent, while the Bruces, Comyns, Umphravilles, and probably the Campbells owed their great possessions not so much to direct grant as to a Scottish ancestress. It is impossible to determine whether the race of Douglas was of Scottish or Norman extraction, and it seems at least probable that the clan and name of Forbes, whose chief holds the premier barony of Scotland were also Scots, and that there is something in the tradition which connects them with the Urquharts and Mackays. Two traditions, supported by the name Ochoncar, derive the Fubeses from Ireland, and there was in Ireland a Clan MacFirbis.

The result of the investigation is, that the Scottish element which gave its name to the country was a large and important one in the composition of its population and the formation of its character. The military system of the Celtic period continued to provide a large portion of the Scottish armies throughout the whole independent history of the realm. Recognised as 'Scottish service,' it existed side by side with 'knight service,' it is shown to be in full vigour early in the eighteenth century in Atholl by the lists, printed in the Chronicles of Atholl and Tullibardine; and it was under the old obligation of *Feacht* and *Sluaged*, hosting and expedition, that the clans rose under Montrose and Dundee and marched to Derby with Prince Charles. There can be little doubt that after the conquest by Kenneth Macalpin, which has considerable resemblance to that of England by William the Norman, Scots would be largely settled among the Picts, and would be specially numerous in the central region watered by the Tay and the Earn. There can be as little doubt that many of the families who assumed territorial designations as their surnames, when these came into vogue, were Scots, and that the Ogtierns, who were the smaller landowners, continued to exist side by side

with Norman families as lesser barons, or 'gudemen' and proprietors holding of subject superiors, obtaining written charters, and assuming surnames, when these came into vogue, from their ancestral lands. For example, the Earls of Airlie and Clan Ogilvy are descended from a younger son of the old Celtic Earls of Angus, who obtained the feudal fief, and took his designation from the lands of Ogilvie. The house of de Brechin were the direct descendants of an illegitimate son of David, Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, David the Scot, brother of the Celtic king. The House of Randolph, Earl of Moray, were sprung from a Dungal of Celtic name and race, whose possessions in Nithsdale were feudalised. Even the great family of Dunbar, Earls of March, though in the female line Saxons of Northumbria, were in the male line the progeny of a brother of the gentle Duncan.

The race of the lay abbots of Dunkeld, is still represented in male descent by the chief of the clan Donachie; and that of the lay abbots of Abernethy, whether it be Scot or Pict, in the female line by Lord Salton, whose ancestor inherited the title conferred on an Abernethy. It is probable that in many of the Highland clans the chiefs and 'duinewassails' were of Scottish descent. For more than two hundred and fifty years the Scots were truly the ruling race, and it was under their guidance that the country was changed from four independent and conflicting states into a compact kingdom with definite boundaries, which maintained its independence against a powerful neighbour for four hundred more, that Norman knights, and Saxon and Flemish merchants and tradesmen were welcomed as elements of strength in a greater national life, and that substantial advances were made in social progress and national development.

The Scots alone of the early races came to Scotland as a Christian people. The nobles of their race devoted themselves to the cause of its conversion, and they spread Christian civilisation not only through the Northern Picts,

but far beyond its borders, among the Teutonic tribes who gave their name to England. They, among the Celts, as the Normans among the Teutons, had the highest ideal of organisation and of law, as well as the foremost military qualities, and with them, more easily and completely than with any other race, the Norman blood blended to form the guiding element of a strong, a logical, and an enduring national character. The *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* in intellectual pursuits, the proud valour which inspired the French proverb, *fier comme un Ecossais*, are in no small degree due to the special Scottish strain in the blood of modern Scotsmen, and discarding all fabulous and mythical antiquity, we may yet affirm that no race has more cause to be proud of its far descended royal line, or has produced a representative whom it has more reason to revere than he of whom it was written, 'There was not born of the Gaidhel a being more illustrious, or more wise, or of better family than Colum Cille. There came not of them any person who was more modest, more humble, or more lowly.'

SOME UNRECORDED INCIDENTS OF THE JACOBITE RISINGS

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

(*Continued from* vol. vi. p. 283)

PRINCE CHARLIE

PRINCE CHARLIE and his few followers landed in Eriskay from France on the 23rd of July 1745. Eriskay is a hilly, rocky, boggy, sandy, small island standing in the sound between Barra and Uist. There was only one isolated family there then: there are one hundred congested familiese now in Eriskay. The Prince and his followers slept two nights in Eriskay, sailing on the 25th July 1745 for Loch-nan-Uamh, lying between Arasaig and Moideart.

Near where the French frigate anchored, a boat from

Barra lay ready to sail for home, laden with rafters for roofing a house. The boat belonged to John Campbell, crofter, Glen, Barra. The captain of the frigate asked John Campbell if he would help in landing stores. Campbell and his men joined in the work willingly, the rafters being thrown ashore. The stores were thrown into pits near the head of the loch, brushwood being strewn over the closed trenches.

When the work was done the French captain asked John Campbell what he charged for his effective help. Campbell said that he did not want money, but that if he had meal to spare he would be glad, meal being scarce in Barra that summer.

The Barra skiff was laden with bags of flour and barrels of biscuits, with casks of wine and boxes of brandy. There was much joy and rejoicing, much sharing of goods and many mutual good wishes in Barra that year!

When the French frigate arrived the men of Barra had a pot of strubain (cockles) upon the fire for their dinner before sailing for home. Pot and cockles were overlooked in the joyous mood of the Barra men; and pot and cockles stood unmolested upon the tripod of stones long years afterwards.

The scene is changed. After Culloden Prince Charlie wandered a fugitive through the Western Highlands and Western Isles. He slept for several weeks in a cave in South Uist. Before then the cave was called 'Uamh Chrothadail,' cave of Corrodal; since then the cave is known as 'Uamh a Phrionnsa,' cave of the Prince. The cave is in the face of a small cliff on the side of a steep, narrow dell running down to the sea a few yards below. It lies lengthwise in the face of the rock a few feet long, a few feet wide, a few feet high and with a sloping floor.

Chambers says that a hundred persons knew the hiding-place of the Prince. A Gaelic proverb says:—

'Cha sgeul ruin e bho chuala triùir e.'
'It is no secret since three have heard it.'

It would be safe to say that several thousand persons knew that the Prince was in Corrodal. Practically the people of Barra, South Uist, Benbecula, North Uist, Harris, Lewis, Skye, and the Small Isles, knew that the Prince was in South Uist.

He wandered among the hills and moors, among the crofters, of which the place was then full, although there are none now. His neighbours far and near vied with one another in supplying his needs with the best they had in their power, and often at the risk of their lives from the soldiery who were scouring the country.

There was a reward of thirty thousand pounds upon the head of the Prince dead or alive, probably equal to a hundred thousand pounds of the present currency.

With his usual prejudice and dogmatism Lord Macaulay alleges that the Highlanders did not know the value of money since they did not betray the Prince. The allegation is as unjust as it is ungenerous. No one believed the allegation, nor did Lord Macaulay.[1]

Mr. John Macaulay, grandfather of Lord Macaulay, was minister of South Uist at the time. The church was then at Killpheadair, and the minister lived near the church, and within a few miles of the hills where the Prince wandered. The situation of the church is indicated in the lines of the Eigg poet :—

'Is iomadh maighdean sparasach
Dha math dha'n tig an earasaid
Eadar Baile-mhanaich 's Caolas Bharraidh
An deigh ort.

Tha tighinn fotham ! fotham ! fotham !
Tha tighinn fotham fotham ! fotham !
Tha tighinn fotham ! fotham ! fotham !
Tha tighinn fotham eirigh.

[1] Lord Macaulay is not always consistent. In another place he says : 'A gentleman of Skye or Lochaber, whose house was no better than a pigstye, could yet conduct himself with all the graces of Versailles.' Again, 'It would be a shame that a Highland boy with no more book education than an English boor should be compared intellectually with an English boy of the same class.' And again, 'If the love which the Highlander had for his native chief could be transferred to his lawful sovereign what a gain that would be for England !'

Tha cuid 's an Fhraing 's an Eadailt diu
Tha cuid an Eilean Bheagrum diu
'S nar bheil latha teagaisg nach bi
Treud an Cillpheadair diu.

Tha tighinn fotham! fotham! fotham!
Tha tighinn fotham! fotham! fotham!
Tha tighinn fotham! fotham! fotham!
Tha tighinn fotham eirigh.'

'There 's many a haughty maiden
To whom becomes the 'earasaid'
From Monkstown to Barra Sound
Deeply bound in love of thee.

Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks to rise and wield the claymore.

There are some in France and Italy
There are some in Isle of Beagrum
Nor is there a preaching day
But is in Killpheadair a troop of them.

Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks! methinks! methinks!
Methinks to rise and wield the claymore.'

When Mr. John Macaulay heard that the Prince had left Corrodal for Stornoway he sent a messenger to his father, Mr. Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris. Mr. Aulay Macaulay and his five sons were strong anti-Jacobites and as strong pro-Williamites. He heard that the Prince was in Scalpay, a low-lying, rocky, mossy island upon the east side of Harris. He and some relatives of his own and of his wife hurried away at midnight to secure the Prince. The Prince was living in the house of Mr. Donald Campbell, tacksman of Scalpay, a descendant of the House of Argyll. Mr. Donald Campbell was exceptionally big and powerful, and the greatest swordsman in the Isles, whether, as the narrator said—le claidheamh cul no le claidheamh cruachain

—with back sword or hip sword—le claidheamh mor no le claidheamh beag—with big sword or small sword—le claidheamh da-laimh no le claidheamh leth-laimh—with two-handed sword or with one-handed sword—le claidheamh cul no le claidheamh leis—with back sword or thigh sword. He was generous and hospitable, and patient too, till roused, but when roused like Naois :—

'B 'i choimeas an fhairge gharg.'

'His likeness was the wild ocean.'

'Ann an glasadh graidh na camhanaich'—in the beloved grey dawn of the morning, a messenger came in to tell Donald Campbell that a boat from Mobhag a Chuain—Movaig of the Ocean—was making for Scalpay. Donald Campbell hurried down to meet the boat with his claymore in his hand. This was the minister of Harris, Mr. Aulay Macaulay, and some relatives.

'What is the reason for this rare visit to this forgotten island, Mr. Aulay ?' said Donald Campbell. 'We have heard that you have got the Prince in Scalpay, and we have come to seize him.' 'Yes, the Prince is in my house, but before a hair of his head is hurt it will be over my prostrate body. I am as much against the Stuarts as you are, Mr. Aulay, and I would fight them in the field, but the Prince is foodless, homeless, and friendless, and alone in my house, and the first man among you who comes ashore to seize him I will cleave to the ground. I care not lay or cleric, courtier or cloisterer.' And with that Donald Campbell handled his huge sword and fingered its keen blade as if to make sure that all was right.

All in the boat knew that Donald Campbell's temper was wild when roused, that his arm was strong when raised, and that his sword was powerful when unsheathed, and they discreetly refrained from landing.

On returning from his fruitless visit to Stornoway, the Prince called to see his benefactor Donald Campbell. He found, however, that Donald Campbell had had to flee to

the mountains of Harris, where he had to remain in exposure for five months because of the shelter he had given the Prince for five nights.

Sanais a Phrionnsa

The 'arm dearg,' red army, were in search of Prince Charlie, but were never able to seize him. As the 'dearganaich,' red ones, searched for the Prince the people watched for the 'dearganaich' and warned the Prince.

The Prince was once in a glen in Kintail [the reciter could not remember the name].

The 'dearganaich' had a piper, and the piper made the words and composed the air and played the warning as they neared the resting-place of the Prince. And the piper played so well that the Prince understood the warning and escaped. When the 'dearganaich' came up they found the 'cos,' cleft, still warm but the Prince away. They were angry and seized the piper, and cut off the first joints of his two thumbs.

'Tha'n fhoill air do chulaibh
Mar a duisg thu, fhir ruaidh
Tha'n fhoill air do chulaibh
Mar a duisg thu gu luath.

Mar a duisg! mar a duisg!
Mar a duisg thu fhir ruaidh!
Mar a duisg! mar a duisg!
Mar a duisg thu gu luath!

T'aghaidh ris an aonaich
A ghaolaich fhir ruaidh!
T'aghaidh ris an aonaich
A ghaolaich gu luath!

An t-aonach! an t-aonach!
A ghaolaich fhir ruaidh!
An t-aonach! an t-aonach!
A ghaolaich gu luath!'

'Danger is behind thee
If thou wake not, red man!
Danger is behind thee
If thou wake not, and soon.

If thou wake not! if thou wake not!
If thou wake not, red man!
If thou wake not! if thou wake not!
If thou wake not, and soon.

Thy face to the hills,
Thou beloved red man!
Thy face to the hills,
Thou beloved one, and soon.

To the hills! to the hills!
Thou beloved red man!
To the hills! to the hills!
Beloved one, and soon.'

Donald Livingstone

Donald Livingstone, Bun-a-mhuilinn, Morvern, was of the Livingstones of Achnacree, Benderloch. These Livingstones of Achnacree had been the keepers of the Royal Forest of Dail-an-eas till this was wrested from them by the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

The Livingstones of Achnacree were of the same line as the Livingstones of Bachuill, Lismore, keepers of the Staff of Saint Moluag. The two families separated many centuries ago, yet they still resemble one another, physically, mentally, and characteristically. Dr. David Livingstone was of the Lismore Livingstones and resembled that family so closely that the late Baron Alexander Livingstone, Bachuill, was taken for him several times, to the great confusion of the singularly shy, modest Baron. Similarly the late Robert Livingstone of the Achnacree Livingstones had been mistaken for the famous missionary, and that by men and women who had seen and spoken to the great traveller. Honest Robert Livingstone said that he had never been so much put out as when a stout, elderly lady

tourist on Oban pier insisted upon kissing his hand 'once more after his great travels.' Bystanders who knew the facts were bursting out in laughter at Robert Livingstone's speechless confusion!

So much for the tenacity of family characteristics.

Donald Livingstone of Bun-a-mhuilinn was eighteen years of age in the year of Culloden. He was very stout, strong, active, and hairy, and he was known as Domhull Mollach—Hairy Donald. There was kinship and fostership between the Lismore and Benderloch Livingstones and the Stuarts of Appin. Donald Livingstone from Morvern joined his friends the Stewarts of Appin and fought with them at Culloden, as did also his clansman Donald Livingstone from Lismore.

The sibyl of the place predicted that nine Donalds would fall carrying the blue banner of the Stewarts. The Carmichaels were the standard-bearers of the Stewarts, and the first Donald to fall was Donald Carmichael, and seven other Donalds fell in succession.

When the eighth Donald fell Donald Livingstone took up the banner, and tearing it from the staff, wrapped the banner round his body. He had hardly done this when a musket ball struck him on the breast and knocked him down. The folds of the silk broke the force of the bullet, thereby saving the life of Donald Livingstone, although the impact knocked him down and rendered him senseless. Donald would never show the bullet mark to any one, nor was the bullet mark even seen by any one till he died. He never knew how long he lay breathless and speechless upon the ground, but when he opened his eyes he saw a riderless steed rushing down in his direction, trampling upon the dead and the dying in its wild career.

When the steed was nearly upon him, Donald Livingstone exerted all his strength and seizing the bridle sprang into the empty saddle of the frightened horse, and was out of the luckless field with all possible haste.

Two English troopers saw Donald Livingstone riding

away from the field, and they followed him. When he saw that his exhausted horse was unable to save him from his pursuers he wheeled round and faced them. The nearest trooper aimed a blow at his head. Donald Livingstone, already a good swordsman, parried the blow, and coming down upon the head of his opponent clove him to the chin. The second trooper was about to join in, but when he saw the fate of his companion he wheeled about and fled.

Donald Livingstone did not know what to do with this second troop horse now upon his hand, whether to leave it or to take it. He thought, however, that he might see some needful fugitive like himself, so he led the horse and renewed his journey. Upon going round the first knoll on his way he heard the call of a familiar voice from a cleft in some scarred rocks behind him. He turned, and this was a neighbour badly wounded and bleeding profusely. Donald stanched the bleeding as best he could and helped his friend to mount the horse and the two rode on.

Upon reaching a secluded corrie they dismounted to rest their tired bodies and their wearied horses. They made *di-leum*—fetters of withes—and placing these upon their horses, left them to graze while they themselves went up the hill and hid behind big boulders beyond the reach of troopers.

By and by a troop of cavalry rode along the way below them. Hearing the noise of their companions, the two horses in the fetters neighed again and again.

The troopers suddenly stopped and listened and looked around, but could see nothing. The neighing echoed round the corrie among the rocks and the English troopers turned and fled, evidently fearing that they were ambuscaded.

The two youths made their way home, resting by day and riding by night till they reached Morvern. They betook themselves to the hills, resting in caves by day and getting food from friends by night, and shifting from place to place to avoid the 'red coats.' Upon several occasions they would have fallen into the hands of the soldiery had

it not been for the daring courage and resourceful actions of Donald Livingstone.

As the night lengthened and the day shortened, the patience of Donald Livingstone shortened also. He moved about everywhere in search of news of the Prince or news of any kind, but he could get none save of the brutalities of the soldiers and of the woes of the people.

Failing to hear anything of the Prince in Morvern, Donald Livingstone resolved to swim from Morvern to Mull in the hope of getting news. He was a good swimmer and had crossed and recrossed the Sound of Mull many times carrying his clothes behind his neck. Several times he had narrowly escaped being shot in mistake for a seal by passing ships. Upon one occasion a bullet grazed his ear. A second bullet might have ended his career had he not risen up in the sea and shown himself to the astonished people on board the vessel.

In swimming from Morvern to Mull Donald Livingstone came dangerously near a warship passing up through the Sound of Mull. The night was calm and clear, but occasionally cloudy, and before he was aware of her presence the strong tidal current of the Sound carried him towards a ship-of-war moving westward to join the many other war-vessels in search of the Prince.

Upon landing in Mull, Donald Livingstone made his way to Drum-fionn in the neighbourhood of Tobermory. From this vantage-ground he saw two ships-of-war towing in two other ships-of-war, bringing news of their own defeat and of the escape of the Prince. These were the two English war-vessels which the French war-vessel defeated and eluded in Loch-nan-Uamh. Much excitement ensued in Tobermory over the news that the Prince had escaped, and it took the daring Donald Livingstone no time to be in the midst of the commotion.

Donald retraced his steps, and recrossed the Sound. This was the most exciting and perilous journey. In mid-channel he encountered a large shoal of herring

followed by a huge whale, blowing loudly and throwing up volumes of water high in the air. In after life Donald Livingstone confessed that the whale frightened him. He was wondering how he could escape if the whale were to swallow him. Would he be expelled from the stomach of the whale as Jonah had been? This and many other questions passed through his mind while he was near the whale.

Donald Livingstone continued to hide himself as before, gradually coming more and more into the open as the soldiers were gradually withdrawn.

The banner of the Stewarts had been safely concealed, no one knowing where it was except Donald's own family.

Before long this daring youth set out for Appin, carrying the precious banner next his skin round his body, and riding the horse of the slain trooper. He gave the flag into the hands of the chief of the Stewarts of Appin, now bowed down with age and sorrow. He then went and gave the English troop horse to James Stewart, better known as Seumas a Ghlinne—James of the Glen. This was in acknowledgment of a kindness shown by James Stewart to Donald Livingstone's father in sending him the year before a bag of barley for seed corn.[1]

Things had hardly settled down, and the soldiery had hardly been withdrawn, when Donald Livingstone began to cater for the garrisons of Fort William and of Fort Augustus. He bought cattle from the people and sold them to the

[1] It was this James Stewart who was executed for the murder of Colin Campbell, Glenuir. It is a known fact, however, that it was not James Stewart but another Stewart who fired the fatal shot. A secret compact was made among six leading Stewart men to kill Colin Campbell, factor upon the forfeited estates, for his evictions and cruelties towards the tenants. Lots were drawn, and the lot fell upon a certain Stewart gentleman. James Stewart was suspected, tried, and executed. The real culprit pressed to be allowed to declare the guilty and to free the innocent. James Stewart, however, would not listen to this, declaring that he was in the faction and that he might as well suffer the penalty as any other one of the party. The writer has this from a high-placed relative of the Stewarts concerned.

The trial of James Stewart was one of the most famous criminal trials of the time. Stevenson, who lived in Appin for a time, deals with it in *Kidnapped*.

garrisons and continued this trade during many years. He became a favourite with the officers and men of the garrisons from his daring courage and absolute honesty, and although they knew his history they never molested him.

Notwithstanding his many narrow escapes by sea and land, Donald Livingstone lived to be an old man, dying peaceably in bed at the age of eighty-eight. He never had an illness and never wore trousers—always the kilt. His makeshifts in evading the law against the kilt and the tartan were innumerable. How he escaped was a miracle to all, and could only be accounted for by his dauntless courage and honest nature, which rendered him a favourite with officers and men of the garrisons.

Dr. Macleod, Morvern, remembered Donald Livingstone and many of his daring deeds and his honourable traits. Dr. Macleod said that he used to sit at his door in the coldest weather with a scant tartan kilt over his knees and with a broad blue bonnet over his head, bright and cheerful and happy to the last. He was never inclined to fight his own battles over again, but always ready to tell of the good deeds of other men. Every one had a word of loving admiration for the daring, honest Donald Livingstone, known as Domhull Mollach.

It may be mentioned that the blue banner of the Stewarts of Appin is in the possession of a Stewart of Appin living in Edinburgh. The colour of the beautiful silk is much faded and the cloth is full of bullet holes and bloodstains.

Colonel Macleod of Talisgeir

Colonel Macleod of Talisgeir was a scion of the Macleods of Dunveagain. In the autumn of 1773 Dr. Johnson, James Boswell and Donald Maclean of Coll visited him at Talisgeir, and were hospitably entertained.

Colonel Macleod had just retired from the Dutch service

when he was appointed to the command of the militia searching for Prince Charlie through the Western Isles. When it became known that the Prince had left the Isles and was now on the mainland the search in the Isles relaxed and Colonel Macleod was able to come home to see to matters requiring his attention.

Soon after coming home he and some men were 'a doradh'—hand-line fishing—in the open bay of Talisgeir.

They were heaving up the 'cruaidh,' 'cailleach'—stone anchor—of the boat preparatory to leaving for home when a French frigate under full sail bore down upon them. The frigate was thrown up in the wind near the boat, while those on board held out pieces of silver and pointing to the fish in the boat spoke in French. Colonel Macleod replied in French, which pleased and surprised the people of the French ship.

The fish upon the floor of the boat was thrown up on the deck of the ship, and Colonel Macleod and his men were asked on board. Colonel Macleod went on board but he sent his men up to Talisgeir House for milk, cream, and butter, fruit, vegetables, and mutton. Upon the return of the men Colonel Macleod left, but before he left the captain of the frigate said, 'We are in search of Prince Charlie, but know not where to find him nor which way to go.' 'I, too, am in search of Prince Charlie, but from a different motive. But,' said Colonel Macleod, placing his finger on Loch-nan-Uamh on the chart before him, 'if you go you may hear of something to your liking. That is outwith my command, and more I must not say.'

The French frigate set all sail and made for Loch-nan-Uamh, going up to the head of the loch. Here she remained some days to enable the Prince and his followers to come on board. One hundred and thirty men joined the Prince.

Two English men-of-war followed the French man-of-war into Loch-nan-Uamh, watching all that occurred the while. Two other English ships of war remained in the open sea beyond. The Prince and all with him were de-

termined to die rather than be captured, and every man on board was prepared to fight to the death.

When the French vessel sailed out of Loch-nan-Uamh on Sunday the 20th September 1746 the first English ship fired at her, doing no damage, however. The French frigate returned the fire of the English ship, breaking her main-mast, bringing down mast-yards and rigging, and injuring many men. When the French ship came opposite, the second English frigate fired, doing no harm beyond a shot through the mainsail. The French ship returned the fire, smashing the rudder and rendering the second English vessel as unmanageable as the first. The two English ships in the open sea contented themselves with firing at long range. The French frigate sailed out and was lost to sight beyond Barra.

The place of embarkation and both sides of Loch-nan-Uamh were crowded with people, many from long distances come to see the last of the Prince and the last of those who were nearest and dearest to them in the world. Wailing and sorrowing ran through the crowds who surmounted every knoll and hill and vantage-ground along the sides of Loch-nan-Uamh—the weeping and sobbing, relieved now and again by cheer upon cheer when the friendly French ship-of-war, carrying away its precious freight for ever, made good its escape and injured its opponents. The people lingered about, some for several days, unable to leave the scene of so many broken hearts, of so many broken hopes.

All this and much more was told the writer by the late Robert Livingstone, the grandson of Donald Livingstone, who rescued the Stewart banner at Culloden.

Robert Livingstone said that when a boy he had seen an old man from Moideart in his father's house at Bun-a-mhuilinn, in Morvern, who had been present on the occasion. The old man said that the scene was affecting and indescribable, the grief and the joy, the tears and the smiles, the sorrow and the gladness, the distress and the delight

alternately swaying the people from hill to hill, from summit to summit along the loch like successive clouds over the sun.

The old man from Moideart remained several days in the house of the father of Robert Livingstone. He was full of stories of the Prince and of his followers, and of the scenes that he himself had witnessed in the long ago of his boyhood.

Robert Livingstone remembered many of the old man's descriptive narratives and rehearsed them with ease and accuracy.

In corroboration of the cannon firing of these ships-of-war it may be mentioned that cannon balls have been found in the near neighbourhood of Loch-nan-Uamh, and in such positions as left no doubt of the balls having been driven into their places by great force.

DERMAID AND GRAINNÈ

DONALD A. MACKENZIE

I

HEARKEN! a space . . . . the bard began his lay
  In the red peat-glare of a Ceilidh throng
Grown mute, while, like a bounding stag at bay,
  The night-wind faltered. . . . . 'Tis of Finn's great wrong
I sing, and Dermaid, who the boar did slay,
  And Grainnè false—ah! 'tis the woeful song!—
I sing the days when Finn and all his men
Dwelt by Ben Goolban in the Fairy Glen.

When Finn, far-famed for wisdom and great deeds,
  A spouse would seek through Erin far and wide,
On Grainnè's neck he put the amber beads—
  Green-robed she rose before him in her pride.
Her sire was King of Carmag of the Steeds;
  And ne'er to Alban came a lovelier bride.
Great feasts the Fians gave for seven days,
By night the bale-fires on the bens would blaze.

And none would be more merry at the board
  Than Dermaid: he was first in mirthful jest—
The nimble-witted! . . . Loud their laughter roared—
  Gallant was he to every stranger guest;
He honoured all, but honoured most his lord—
  Of heroes, he the bravest and the best—
But woe! to Dermaid and his mighty chief
'Twas Grainnè brought to them the bitter grief.

Now Dermaid was the fairest of all men;
  Yellow as whin-bloom was his clustering hair;
His eyes were bluer than the far-off ben,
  And soft as when it shines in noontide air;
On his white brow a love-spot burned, and when
  A woman would behold it, she would bear
For him the love so passionate and great,
That Dermaid knew 'twould be his evil fate.

And ever he from morn till eventide,
  In sunshine or in storm, a helmet wore,
The secret charm of fateful love to hide—
  And sooth! it quivered and was red as gore.
The substance of his manly strength and pride—
  The essence of fierce love was at its core;
And, save his fairy-mother, woman ne'er
Beheld that spot upon his forehead fair.

Lo! when the Fians hunted far away,
  A warrior on ward would wait behind;
And so to Dermaid would there come a day
  When he must needs have care of woman-kind.
'Twas on a drowsy noon in midmost May—
  A spell of sleep had fallen on the wind—
As he would stoop to drink beside a brook,
And from his head his heavy helmet took.

Then weary was his fate and dark his lot!
  For nigh him Grainnè came with copper hair—
Ah! when her eyes beheld yon beauty-spot,
  She loved him with the passion of despair—
Sudden and fierce! . . . . And Finn she then forgot,
  And all her vows. . . . She cried to Dermaid there,
'Oh! I am stricken with deep love for thee,—
My strong, my fair one! thou must fly with me!'

He heard her in his grief, and fain would pass
  Before her, with foreboding, all dismayed—
Ah! what will be more plenteous than grass?—
  The dewdrops that are many on each blade. . . .
So rose his sorrows in a countless mass—
  Each sorrow with the bitterest tears was lade—
He heard with anguish, ringing in his ears,
His friends' reproaches, sharper than their spears.

'Nay, nay!' he cried, 'I will not with thee go,
  For Honour, white and deep, will with me dwell—
'Tis whiter than Ben Goolban's winter snow,
  And deeper than the heart of yon deep well.
Then she to him, 'Alas! I love thee so. . . .
  My wish be laid upon thee like a spell!
All heavy is the love I'll bear for thee—
Whiter than fire and deeper than the sea.'

'I ne'er will go,' he cried, 'nor will thee take
  In softness or in hardness; faith or doubt;
I will not take thee for thy false love's sake
  From house, from plain, within nor yet without—
On horse-back or on foot. . . . Ha! would I break
  My oath of Fealty and wise Finn flout?'
Then Dermaid fled unto a place apart,
And reared a house with cold and heavy heart.

But what is hotter than the flames that blind?
  And fiercer than the bale-fire on the ben?——
A woman's love that will not be resigned,
  A woman's will with conquest in her ken!
And what will dart more swiftly than the wind?
  A woman's thoughts that are betwixt two men!—
So on a morn that was, yon false one sped
To Dermaid calling . . . 'I am here!' he said.

'Then fly with me!' she'd urge him in her pride.
  But once again, 'Nay, nay!' to her he swore—
Now she was nor within or yet outside. . . .
  She waited 'twixt the two sides of the door.
On foot she came not, nor a horse did ride—
  A great black goat the love-sick lady bore—
Then Dermaid knew her spells were wrought, and they
Together fled towards the dying day.

Three days and nights they fled. And Dermaid cried,
'There is no place to which we need may go—
There is no spot in Alban, woe betide!
That Finn, who hath the knowledge, would not know—
Wise Finn whom I have stricken in his pride—
Deep is his grief and heavy is his blow!
When he comes nigh, he will me slay,' he said.
'E'en now his curse is falling on my head.'

But what is nimbler than the huntsman's feet?—
The cunning of an evil woman's mind!
For Grainnè to him whispered, smiling sweet,
'We 'll to a Carrick go, for who would find
Our Carrick midst the score I could repeat!—
Let Finn make search till he be old and blind
He will not find our sure and safe retreat!'—
So first they went to Carrick of the Stag
And reared a house below the lonely crag.

When Finn from his long hunting had returned
And Grainnè sought and Dermaid sought in vain,
His heart with hottest wrath within him burned—
And keener than the spear-thrust was his pain.
'O Dermaid, O brave Dermaid, who me spurned,
Whom I with love shall ne'er behold again—
Mine eyes,' he wailed, 'my tongue, this heart of me—
Oh, have they e'er done aught but honour thee?'

'Twas thus, with lamentation, Finn went forth—
He with his Fians went to seek the twain.
He hunted in the south and in the north,
He hunted east and west, o'er hill and plain;
And ever would he blow the Horn of Worth—
'Ye gods!' he cried, that Dermaid had been slain
And ever would he sigh by day and night
For her who never took a step aright

II

Now Dermaid in his grief to Finn was true,
While Grainnè held him in her evil spell—
Her love he spurned; and in her wrath she knew
Love is a thing no mortal can compel—
Then shame came o'er her; . . . from her eyes, as blue
As hyacinth bells, the silent teardrops fell
And dewed her rowan cheeks . . . crouching in gloom,
Her hair came o'er her bosom like gold broom.

She watched him early and she watched him late,
  Nor ever smile would glimmer o'er his face—
The love that is disdained is fierce as hate,
  And seven times fierce the love that is disgrace!
So one black night she cursed her evil fate,
  Finn cursed she deep, and cursed she all his race—
Then fell on Dermaid, for she sought his life,
And in his thigh she plunged the two-edged knife.

Then Dermaid fled, the cold knife in his thigh . . .
  He crept from hole to hole in his despair;
For he was just alive, and sought to die,
  And of his wound he would take little care—
His heart wound was more deep. . . . So would he lie
  Moaning a lot too black for him to bear—
Sooth! in a fearsome dream he Finn did see
Writhing in flames in his fierce agony.

He screamed. . . . And from his eyes the vision swept—
  And screamed a heron lone beside the wave.
Then Grainnè in the cold dawn came, and crept
  To kneel beside him, weeping in the cave.
'All night,' she cried, 'I've sought for thee nor slept,
  O Dermaid, unto whom my love I gave,
Why came yon heron's scream to answer thine?'——
'*Its feet are frozen to a stone like mine!*'

Then shame was on her. . . . He would stare aghast—
  'Where is thy knife? that thou may'st eat,' she'd sigh,
'Of bread and flesh, for bitter is thy fast.'
  'Twas he made answer with the anguish'd cry—
'Search in the sheath where thou didst put it last!'
  And when she drew the sharp knife from his thigh,
That was the greatest shame she ever took,
And in his eyes she would not dare to look.

As stoops a moaning mother tenderly
  To soothe her dying babe, by Dermaid's side
Grainnè, with drooping head and bended knee,
  Then sorrowed o'er him there . . . 'Alas!' she cried,
'I would the blow that I have given thee
  Thou to me gave instead, and I had died. . . .
If thou wilt love me not, oh! let me take
Comfort in loving thee for love's sweet sake.'

III

When Dermaid's wound had healed, she heard him sigh—
'Alas! alas! of Finn I will have fear,
I know he cometh—whither can I fly?
I feel his presence, for he will be near!'—
To a more distant Carrick did they hie,
Towards Glen Elg; and where a burn ran clear,
They found a cave. . . . 'Twas there in silent mood
Dermaid would shape fair vessels cut in wood.

Then came the Fians from the Fairy Glen,
For they would hunt the fierce and venomous boar—
The Boar of Mala Lith—from ben to ben—
Full near to Dermaid came they by the shore.
Now down the burn came floating from the glen
Wood-cuttings fine. . . . And wise Finn paused and swore,
'The art is Dermaid's: he'll have dwelling nigh!'
'Ah, nay, he liveth not,' they made reply.

But Finn said, ''Tis his handicraft I see. . . .
Oh! wind the merry blast from every horn
And shout the huntsman's call right lustily;
For he must answer make, as he hath sworn,
From any place where he may chance to be.' . . .
Full sweetly was the call to Dermaid borne . . .
But Grainnè cried, 'Oh, answer not at all,
For yon,' she vowed, 'will be the guileful call.'

But Dermaid rose, and with uplifted horn
Awaited till the echoes died away.
The gloom had vanished from his heart forlorn,
And gleamed the life-blood o'er his visage grey.
But Grainnè wailed, 'Alas! 'twere meet to mourn,
For here is death that thou must shun this day.' . .
'I would not falter from the hunt,' he cried,
'For Finn and his great wrath—whate'er betide!'

His horn he blew and gave the huntsman's call,—
The echoes would repeat it o'er and o'er.
Then down the long glen went the hero tall,
All nimbly to the Fians on the shore.
An angry silence fell upon them all.—
''Tis thine,' they said, 'to hunt the venomous boar.'
Full many a hero by yon boar was slain!
Who sought to hunt it ne'er returned again.'

IV

He roused the boar upon the wooded face
  Of fair Ben Eiden, and, with rapid stride,
He drove it to a dim and lonely place
  Towards Ben Turk, and round its grassy side,—
Oh, merry was his heart in that long chase,
  His bosom heaving with the huntsman's pride!
And from his horn he blew the heartsome blast
As Finn and all his huntsmen followed fast.

Then turned the boar . . . a course it westward made,
  Till Dermaid saw Ben Goolban—when, ye Fates!
It came to bay in yon steep mountain glade,
  And fought so fierce that he was brought to straits.
His tempered blades were bootless—all dismayed
  He saw them twist like withered rushy plates.
Then with his Fairy Sword he slashed full sore,—
One slash so fierce, and slew the venomous boar.

'Twas no revenge for Finn! . . . Ha! all in vain
  Would he be one with Dermaid. . . . As he hears
The Fian shouting that the boar is slain,
  Their words like wasps come stinging at his ears . . .
He thinks of Grainnè with a heart of pain,
  And curses Dermaid, lauded by his peers. . . .
Black are his brows and gloomy are his eyes,
While cunningly his death he doth devise.

'Measure the boar!' cried Finn. . . . Full well he knew
  That Dermaid's body would be charmed in strife,
And save upon yon mole of darkest hue
  On his right heel, no wound would end his life.
'Measure the boar!' . . . Upon its back there grew
  A venomous spike, sharp-pointed like a knife,—
'Twas measured. . . . 'Fifteen feet of measure good,'
Cried Dermaid. . . . Finn him heard in angry mood.

Then cried he who for vengeance was full fain,
  'Now measure 'gainst the bristles to the head,
Yon prayer of thine unto the king obtain—
  Thy choice of tough, keen spears for heroes made . . .
The jewels of the warrior proud thou 'lt gain!'—
  'My knife is my best jewel,' Dermaid said. . . .
Lo! as he stepped again, yon spike would pierce
The heel of him who was in battle fierce.

Then swayed he, falling. . . . Like the stream he bled . . .
And Finn moaned deep—his sorrow would be keen
When Dermaid fell—'Would I had fall'n instead,
And he to me had ne'er a traitor been,'—
But yester-eve the hillock was so green
That with the blood of Dermaid will be red—
'O Finn, Finn, give me water,' he would sigh,
'A cool draught from thy palms . . . or else I die. . . .'

'O Dermaid, thou deceiver, who me gave
Yon evil stroke—thou,' Finn cried, 'who me curst
With bitter wrong . . . canst thou my favours crave?
My foes are many and thou'rt proved the worst! . . .
No water would I lift thy life to save,
And neither would I seek to quench thy thirst.—
Thou never didst me good on hill or plain
That has not helped my ruin and my pain.'

But Dermaid moaning said, 'I wronged thee not—
Hither or thither, in the east or west;
Canst thou forget the day when Conal sought
To slay thee, and my spear was at his breast?
Lo! when I fled with Grainnè, who had wrought
Her spells that bound me, I in vain did wrest
As with a yoke. . . . Oh hear me while I lie,
My face towards Ben Goolban . . . for I die!

'Ben Goolban! O belov'd familiar ben!
To thy red brow I'd turn my dying eyes. . . .
On thee I've hunted with the bravest men—
The horns, the hounds, the ever-echoing cries!
The longest journey would seem ended when
We'd see from far the Ben of Home arise . . .
My face towards Ben Goolban.' . . . So he cried,
And then was silent. . . . Ah! heavily Finn sighed.

With love and hate at battle in his heart,
Old Finn arose and hastened to the well. . . .
Then, bearing water in his hands, he'd start
For Dermaid; but, as caught in some black spell,
He'd think of Grainnè, and his hands would part—
Full often thus the healing waters fell,
But when he'd think of Dermaid . . . ah! he sighed,
And swiftly to the well again he hied.

And so he came and went . . . then came again
To him who bled . . . but, kneeling by his side,
The thought of Grainnè rose with bitter pain,
While Dermaid sought the draught that was denied,—
But in the end to give it Finn was fain . . .
Then with a low keen cry the hero died—
His face towards Ben Goolban in eclipse,
And Finn's weak fingers pressing on his lips.

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN SCOTCH GAELIC

JOHN FRASER

THE treatment of the relative pronoun and its numerous substitutes strikes one as perhaps the weakest feature in existing grammars of Scotch Gaelic. This is no doubt natural, for in no respect does the language at all periods of its history offer a sharper contrast to the cognate languages. In Aryan, in Latin and Greek and their modern representatives, in the other Teutonic languages, as in English, there exists a relative pronoun which can introduce its clause in whatever relation it may stand to its main clause; which word in a sentence is the relative pronoun cannot for a moment be open to doubt. This is doubtless what is responsible for the absurdities to which the native grammarian commits himself in dealing with the relative. Some knowledge of the history of the language would make it impossible to write down such statements as we find, *e.g.* in O'Donovan, *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1845, p. 131; or Stewart, *Elements of Gaelic Grammar*,[1] Edinburgh, 1876, p. 64. This knowledge is now, thanks mainly to the labours of non-Gaelic-speaking scholars, easily acquired, and a grammar of Scotch Gaelic worthy of the name should soon be forthcoming.

This paper aims at discovering how far in modern Scotch

[1] Gillies, *The Elements of Gaelic Grammar based on the work of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, D.D.*, London, 1902, has less excuse for some strange remarks, pp. 79, 80.

Gaelic the devices for expressing relativity used in the older language have been retained, and what substitutes for them have come into use. For Old Irish, of course, the material lies ready to hand in Zeus-Ebel, pp. 341-346, and Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, pp. 294-307. For Mid. Irish collections have been made from Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, Dublin, 1887; *Táin bó Fraich*, translated and edited by J. O'Burne Crowe, Dublin, 1870; *Táin bó Cúalnge*, ed. Windisch, Leipsig, 1905, Carwsel, *The Book of Common Order, commonly called John Knox's Liturgy, translated into Gaelic*, 1567, ed. T. M'Lauchlan, Edinburgh, 1873.[1] More definitely Scotch documents used are *The Book of Deer*, ed. M'Bain, *Trans. of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xi. 137 ff. *Dean of Lismore's Book* in Cameron, *Rel. Celt.*, vol. i. pp. 1-109. For the modern language it was necessary to get texts as unliterary as possible. Those used are: J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, London, 1860, 1862, and the collections in the various volumes of Lord Archibald Campbell's *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*.

I. A relative pronoun properly so called exists in Gaelic only after a preposition, and appears in the form *(s)an*, *inthí dianaiper Ml.*, 14d.; *is-in-cathraig di-a n-id ainm Beritus, Pass. and Hom.*, l. 30; *dona righaibh ara bfuil masla*, Carswel, p. 5, *dona déibh balbha bodhra sin da gcreiddis*, ib. p. 6. After the preposition *in* there is in the oldest form of the language no sign of this relative particle, *a tech i m-bí*, 'the house in which he lives,' but at a later stage it was apparently affected by the analogy of the other prepositions: so, *an da thabhaill ina rabhadar na deich naitheāta sgribhtha*, Carswel, p. 4, *an timra ina bfuil toil Dé*, ib. 8. The modern language, however, still retains the original usage, *mothaichidh mise e ge b' e àit am bi mi, Folk and Hero Tales*, ed. M'Innes, p. 116. Other exx. of the relative particle after the preposition are: *dh' fhèoruich e dheth gu 'de 'n obair air*

[1] The language of Carswel's translation is Mid. Irish pure and simple. The same might be said, with some reservation, of the Dean's Book.

an robh e math, Folk and Hero Tales, p. 282; *n Atriur da'n geileadh na gaisgich, Laoidh chlann Uisne, Trans. of Inverness Gael. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 214; *na h-uile àite do'n ruigemaid*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 138, *faicear òganach . . . a' tighinn for an robh i*, ib., p. 88; *thainig iad air tìr far an robh i*, Campbell, *The Fianns*, p. 273; *a chòigear . . . g'am bu dual gaisge agus morghniomh*, ib., p. 42, *an làmh leisan*[1] *do bhuail mi Brian*, ib., p. 176. It will be observed that in *e.g. far an robh i* the nasal of the particle is retained in writing, though not always in speech.

Here belong those cases in which a preposition with the relative particle, or the neuter of the article, *cf.* Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, § 466, serves as a conjunction, e.g. *de'n riaghailt a bha san rìoghachd o'na dh' fhalbh iad*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 135; and also where the same particle with a preposition combines the function of antecedent and relative, Eng. *what*: *gheibh thu aon nì do na tha thu faicinn*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 91. Here we have a striking example of the way in which our vicious modern orthography obscures the most ordinary grammatical relations and creates monstrous forms for the deception of native grammarians. *Do na tha* in the above ex. represents of course an earlier *dian ata*, and ought to be written *don athà*. This form of the substantive verb is partly responsible for the 'relative pronoun' *a* of our grammars, and one or two further exx. of the first syllable of a verb parading as a 'relative' may be noted: *tha suiriche mòr an siud a tha 'dol g'a teàrnadh*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 88; *in na sowd in fer a der tow*, Cameron, *Rel. Celt.*, vol. i. p. 26, where *a* represents *ad* of the compound verb *adbiur*, cf. *anlocht adeiridsean do bhéith indte*, Carswel, p. 22, and Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, vol. ii. p. 152; *co a chitheadh e 'tighinn*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 136; *bha gillean . . . a' sealltainn a mach cuin a chitheadh iad a'*

[1] It is to be hoped that the day will come when *leisan, annsan*, etc., will be the ordinary way of writing those words. Than the present system nothing could be worse from either the theoretical or practical standpoint.

tighinn a chuideachd, ib., p. 137; *de'n seorsa a chi thu*, ib., vol. ii. p. 105, where *a* represents the first syllable of *atchiu*. From verbs of this form, the unaccented first syllable of which was retained in the spoken language, *a* spread to cases where it had no historical justification. Where the verb of the relative clause is in the past tense the so-called 'relative' *a* is doubtless due for the most part to another reason to be mentioned presently, but in e.g. *gu d'e 'n tuarasdal a bhios tu 'g iarraidh?* M'Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, it is in all probability a result of the analogy of *atá*.

II. Apart from sentences where the relative was governed by a preposition, there was in the oldest form of the Gaelic language known to us only one case in which anything that can properly be called a relative pronoun was used. In a sentence like *an roscribus*, 'that which I have written,' *Wb.*, 20c18, the article (demonstrative) does duty for a compound relative pronoun like the Eng. *what*. That *an* here is identical with *an*<*san* in *dianaiper* has long been recognised, both constructions being originally paratactic, *cf.* Zimmer, *o.c.*, p. 61 ff, Thurneysen, *o.c.* § 506. An interesting illustration of this development of a relative from a demonstrative pronoun we have in late Latin where the anaphoric use of *is* in the classical language has led to such constructions as *sexagesimus nunc, ut clarum est, agitur annus ex eo populus ille . . . attigit fines*, *Vict. Vit.*, vol. i. 1, 1, (quoted *Berliner Phil. Woch.*, vol. xxix. col. 908). This form of the relative appears to be unknown in modern Gaelic, though it occurs in Carswel, p. 19, *gurab fiór anabruim*, as in Mid. Irish, *iso innaithrech ol ailill, an dorigensam ris in fer*, T.B.F., 148. In the modern language Carswel's *anabruim* would be *na their mi*. From the Mid. Irish *in a fuarus, in a ridernus, in a nepur*, Atkinson, *o.c. Glossary*, p. 520, it seems clear that *na* represents *in an, i.e.* the particle *an* already discussed preceded by the n. sg. of the article, unless we should assume that the n. pl. of the article (*in*)*na* came to be used in the same sense as the singular *an*. That

the form *(i)n a* was generalised to the exclusion of *(i)n an* may have well been partly due to confusion with a supposed relative *na* in such sentence types as *gheibh thu aon ni do na tha thu 'faicinn*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 91.

III. Where the form of the sentence made it impossible to express the relative in either of the ways mentioned, a third [1] means of doing so in positive sentences was afforded by the fact that the verb itself had for certain parts specifically relative forms.[2] Where these failed (1) the particle *no-* was prefixed to the verb or (2) the relative nature of the clause was shown (*a*) by the lenition of the initial consonant of the verb by preceding particle or preposition, or (*b*) the insertion of a nasal element. The general breakdown or simplification of the verbal system in the later language, and the disappearance in Scotch Gaelic of the particle *no-* makes a formal distinction of these three cases impossible. In general the particle *do-* is present in one form or another in the relative clause, taking often the place of an earlier *no-*. The sentence *béde cruthnec robo mormaer*, *Book of Deer*, illustrates the type 2(*a*). Exx. from a later stage in the progress of the language are: *rofás ceist . . . do'n usce tanic a sliss himaigine crist*, Atkinson, *o.c.*, l. 9, *ecmaic tra araile fer cristaige do muntir Ierusalem do thachur isin sinagoig moir na n-Ebraide batar isin baile*, ib., l. 47, *ag faigsin na honara tugadar don laodh ordha*, Carswel, p. 4, *gurab é antadhbhar cedna tugorra anumhla agas anonóir*, ib., p. 5. In *caraid na nechi follsigim-sea duib*, Atkinson, *o.c.*, l. 40, we have an ex. of simple paratactic construction without the particle which in the older language would have been prefixed to the verb.

In the modern language, as hinted above, *do-* or its

[1] As the infixed pronouns have disappeared long ago, the special forms of them used in relative sentences do not concern us here.

[2] In mod. Gaelic forms like *bheireas* are probably formations on the analogy of the old *-s*, subjunctive rather than descendants of *beres*, etc. The relative form of the substantive verb is used only in negative and interrogative clauses or with infixed *-an*. For the original use an ex. is *immdala na caingne 7 na cesta fuil acaib*, Atkinson, *o.c. l.* 21.

unaccented form *a-* plays a great part in relative clauses of this type. Some exx. are: *ma sea skayll ni cathry' zeawris tws*, Cameron, *Rel. Celt.*, vol. i. p. 12, where *zeawris* = *dh-fhiafras*; *bha . . . da chìobar a bha 'nan nabhaidhean*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. ii. p. 84 (*a bha* = Carswell's *dobhi*); *gun neach ann a thèarnadh i*, ib., vol. i. p. 88; *ma bha raoiceil . . . air a bhéist air na làithean a chaidh seachad*, ib., p. 90 (*a chaidh* = *docoid*); *cha deach a mach na bheireadh dachaidh e*, ib., vol. ii. p. 106 (*na bheireadh* = *na a bheireadh*); *tha peata beag an siud a thug mi dachaidh*, ib., p. 106, and the common phrase *nur a ràinig*, cf. *nor huit* from the *Dean's Book ap.*, Cameron, *Rel. Celt.*, vol. i. p. 26., where there is no indication of the presence of the particle.[1] From the past tense this verbal particle *a* was extended to the present, the extension being doubtless facilitated by the use in the present of the *a* of such verbs as *atchiu* already discussed, so that side by side with *an fear a chaidh* we have *an fear a theid*.[2] Here may be mentioned a relatival use of *nech* found in Carswel, *Daibhith neoch iarus ar prindsaghaibh na talmhun beith eolach*, p. 3; *ar nairdri agas ar nimpire neoch atá agas dobhí agas bhias*, p. 25, and doubtless imitated from the similar use in Mid. Irish, e.g. *ac-so uan Dé, nech tocbus pectha*, Atkinson, *o.c. Glossary*, p. 817; this itself arose from a misunderstanding of the pronoun in sentences of the type represented by the modern *cha phòsadh i ach an neach a bheireadh na cinn do'n ghad*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 90.

IV. In the case of negative clauses relativity was indicated by the form of the negative particle: instead of the *ni* of positive clauses, *nád, na, nach*[3] were used. So, *fomchain lóid luin lúad nad cél, Thensaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. ii. p. 290, *ni ſt i n-herinn rig na tibre falte dún*, Windisc *Irische Texte*, vol. i. p. 73, *ni fail ni . . . nad tei, TBF*,

[1] Very often in the modern language we have the particle *do* repeated in the form *a dh'* as in *de'n riaghailt a bha san rioghachd o'n a dh' fhalbhiad*, quoted above.

[2] In e.g. *an fear a bheir* we have doubtless the descendant of an original *in fer dobeir*.

[3] *Nach* includes the pronoun, cf. the ex. from Carswel.

150, *an ní ar nach bfuil feidhm no foghramh agan sgribhtuir dhiadha air*, Carswel, p. 21, *gàir eibhinn gún d'rinn an Fhiann nach d'rinneadh leo roimhe riamh*, Campbell, *The Fianus*, p. 130; *braiceas nach d' fhuair e riam na b' fheàrr an tigh athar*, M'Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 310.

Nach already in Mid. Irish had acquired the force of a consecutive conjunction, *v.* Atkinson, *o. c. Glossary*, p. 813, and this led to a type of relative sentence that is really more consecutive than relative. How closely allied the two modes of expression may be is well illustrated by the sentence ⁊ *talam-chumscugud adbul ingnath co rchuir-siam na mairb beoa as suas*, Atkinson, *o. c.* l. 36, where the clause introduced by *co*, although formally purely consecutive, is functionally equivalent to a relative clause. In the ex. from Carswel, p. 21, quoted above, we have a contamination of the original use of *nach* in a negative clause and of the consecutive *nach*, thus: *an ní ar nach bfuil feidhm . . . agan sgriobhtuir dhiadha*+*an ní nach bfuil feidhm agan sgriobhtuir air*. Constructions of this type are quite common in modern Scotch Gaelic; *nach* is to all intents and purposes a consecutive conjunction, and the subordinate clause contains a possessive adjective *a* that takes the place of a preposition governing the relative in a proper relative clause. Some exx. are: *thubhairt mi rium fhein nach pòsainn tè sam bith nach biodh a cean cho dubh ri it an fhithich*, M'Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 2; *thubhairt i gu'm fac i ni nach fac i riamh roimh a leithid*, M'Dougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 26; *bha pailis aige ann an sin nach fhac e riamh a leithid*, M'Innes, *o. c.*, p. 214; *cha n' eil bean mhath sam bith nach tig a tochar as a deigh*, ib.; *faighibh a nis calp' an daimh odhair a bha sibh ag radh nach fhaca mise riabh a leithid 'san Fhinn*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. ii. p. 106.

V. The evolution of the relative clause which we have seen in the last section is ultimately due to the essentially clumsy nature of the methods for expressing relativity which the language had at its disposal. Through the gradual simplification of the verbal forms, the disappearance of

infixed pronouns, and the partly arbitrary extension of lenition the old relative constructions no longer satisfied the *Sprachgefühl* of the speakers. This led on the one hand to the substitution for the relative of the consecutive clause, as we have seen in IV., and, on the other, to a mixture of a relative and paratactic construction. Instead of a clause introduced by the relative particle *san* governed by a preposition we have a clause containing what in the older language would have been a relative form of the verb or its equivalent with the preposition governing a personal or demonstrative pronoun,[3] as in the following exx.: *an te bha iad an toir oirre*, Campbell, *The Fianns*, p. 229 (= *an te aira(n) robh iad an toir*); *cha phòs mi tè gu bràth ach tè 'bhios a falt cho dubh ri iteagan an fhithich agus a gruaidh cho dearg ri fuil an fhithich*, M'Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 2, *an tè 'bh 'aig an fhamhair pòsda a thug an gille mòr an ceam deth m'un d' fhalbh iad do dh' eirinn*, ib., p. 92; *a huile fear a bheireadh i air theireadh i . . .* ib., p. 262; *na gabh ni sam bith . . . ach an loth pheallagach odhar a tha 'n diollaid mhaid' urra*, Campbell, *Popular Tales*, vol. i. p. 13.

VI. There remains to be mentioned one other, apparently modern, relative construction. Here the relative clause is connected with the main clause by the conjunction *agus*. In positive sentences the verb is preceded by *a* originating from *do-* or other pre-verbal particles: *ghabh mac rìgh eirinn is nighean an rìgh air an aghaidh cho luath 's a bheireadh casan an steud iad*, M'Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 20; *thug e 'n sin e gu mnathan cho briogh 's a ghabhadh faicinn*, ib., p. 98. In this case, however, the subordinate clause is not purely relative. It is still less so when introduced by the corresponding negative conjunction *'s nach*, and the construction may therefore be reserved for discussion in another connection.

The development of the relative construction in Scotch Gaelic, consisting in (1) a simplification of expression and a return to what is practically parataxis, and (2) the substitu-

[1] We may also have the possessive adjective with noun representing *de'n*.

tion of other constructions, in particular the consecutive, is to be accounted for by two facts in the history of the language. The inadequacy of the means at the disposal of the language in its earliest stages has been already pointed out. The indication of the relative nature of the clause was vague as compared to what we are accustomed to in *e.g.* the Teutonic language; and, further, the method was clumsy and difficult to manage when the relation of the subordinate clause to the antecedent was not of the simplest. Devices of this kind can be perpetuated only under the most favourable circumstances, *i.e.* when the traditions of the language are supported by a continuous written literature which fixes the types of expression and exerts a conservate influence on the spoken language. It is notorious that in the case of Scotch Gaelic this condition has been wanting. The literature, though considerable in quantity, is popular in language and style to a degree that would be hard to parallel. The written language instead of controlling the spoken form, is itself for the most part merely a reflex of everyday speech. There has therefore been nothing in the history of the language to counteract the historical and social conditions that facilitated phonetic change. This fact, if it makes the historical study of Scotch Gaelic a more difficult task, makes it at the same time more interesting and more instructive to the linguistic investigator.

RIGH EIRIONN 'S A DHA MHAC

From the MSS. of the late Rev. J. G. Campbell, Minister of Tiree

'S e Righ Eirionn a bh'ann, 's bha aon mhac aige o'n chiad mhnaoi, 's mac bho' n té mu dheireadh. Latha sin thainig an Eachrais-urlair a stigh 's thuirt i ris a' mhnaoi, 'Nach tu bhan-righinn dhona dhòlach, seach a bhan-righinn shona sholasach a bh'againne roimhe so; 's fhearr dhuit cur as do

mhac mor an righ, neo mar dh'fhasas a' chlann 's ann aige bhios an oighreachd uile, 's cha bhi dad idir aig do mhac-sa.' Thuirt ise gu robh sid cheart cho maith leatha-se 's e bhi aig a cuid cloinne fhein. Thoisich an Eachrais-urlair oirre mar so, 's lean i gus an d' thug i oirre aontachadh gu'n cuireadh i as do'n bhalachan. Thuirt a mhuime an sin nach robh fios aice dé an doigh air an deanamh i e. 'Cha bhi mise fada faotainn doigh dhuit,' thuirt an Eachrais-urlair. 'Nach bi deoch bhlàth agad daonnan air a chionn nuair thig e dhachaidh as an sgoil?' 'Bithidh,' ors ise. 'Ni mise deoch dhuit 's cuiridh sinn puinnsean ann, 's nuair dh'òlas e i bidh e marbh,' ors an Eachrais-urlair. Bha 'm bràthair òg ag eisdeachd 's a' gabhail beachd maith air na bha e cluinntinn, 's a' sealltuinn a mach air son a bhràthar bhi tilleadh. 'Nuair chunnaic e tighinn e ruith e 'na chomhdhail, choinnich e e ann an teis-meadhoin fras shneachda, 's thuirt e ris, 'Suidh a bhràthair, eudail, 's naigheachd agam dhuit.' 'Cha suidh; coisich dhachaidh 's an latha cho doirbh,' thuirt a bhràthair. 'Cha choisich mi', ors am fear òg, 'dean thusa suidhe; a bheil fhios agad dé tha mo mhàthair a' dol a dheanamh ort? tha i dol a chur puinnsean 's an deoch agad an diugh, 's cha teid thu stigh tuilleadh, chionn tha iad air son do mharbhadh, 's air son na chunna tu riamh, cha'n fhaod thu deoch a ghabhail.' 'C'arson tha i dol a dheanamh sin?' ors am bràthair mor. 'Thà,' ors am bràthair òg, 'eagal 's gu'm bi an oighreachd agadsa, 's nach bi dad agamsa nuair bhios m' athair marbh.' Falbh thusa, laochain, dhachaidh,' ors am fear bu shine, ''s cha teid mise dhachaidh gu bràth tuilleadh.' 'Cha téid mi,' ors am fear òg, 'ach far am bi sinn bidh sinn ann, agus,' ors esan, 'cuiridh mise seachad an deoch ortsa, 's cha'n fhaigh thu h-òl.' 'S dh' fhalbh iad dhachaidh. 'Nuair rainig iad dh' eirich a mhuime 'nan coinneamh 's an deoch aice. 'Ol sin, a luaidh, 's tu fuar,' ors ise. Bha esan a' breith air, ach dh'eirich am bràthair òg, 's rug e air an t-soitheach 's thilg e mach e fhein 's na bh'ann. Chaidh a mhàthair as a dheigh, ach cha d' rug i air. Thainig an so an oidhche, 's chaidh iad a laidhe. Cha robh iad fada 'nan cadal 'nuair dh'eirich am fear òg. 'Bheil

thu ad dhùsgadh, a bhràthair?' thuirt e, 'tha 'n t-àm againn bhi tarruing ruinn.' Dh' eirich iad, 's thug an fear òg leis na b'urrainn da de dh' òr 's de dh' airgiod. Mar chaidh iad a mach thachair tri fithich orra a mharbh am puinnsean a bha 's an deoch, 's thuirt am fear òg—'A bhràthair fhein, bheir sinn leinn iad so; cha mhisde sinn 'n ar cuideachd iad;' 's dh'-fhalbh iad 's thug iad leotha na h-eoin. Rainig iad tigh, 's cha robh ann ach seann duine bho'n d'iarr iad coire 's am bruicheadh iad na h-eoin. Fhuair iad sin, 's nuair bha na h-eoin bruich, rug am fear òg air a' choire, 's bhrist e ri tota an tighe e. 'Ut, ut,' ors an sean duine, 'ciod thuige rinn thu sid?' 'Coma leibhse,' thuirt esan, 'bheir mi fhein dhuibh a luach,' 's thug e dha lan an duirn de dh' airgiod. Cheangail e suas na h-eoin, 's dh' fhalbh e le bhràthair, 's ghuidh an sean duine soirbheachadh a bhi aca. Bha iad a' siubhal 's a' sior imeachd 'nuair thachair uamh orra 's an robh a h-uile ni luach-mhor a smaointicheadh iad air. Chaidh iad a stigh 's cha d' fhuair iad duine rompa, ach cha robh iad uine sam bith gus am fac' iad buidheann mhor dhaoine tighinn. 'Obh! obh! a bhràthair fhein, tha iad so air tighinn, 's mur robh sinn marbh riamh roimhe bidh sinn a nis ann,' ors am bràthair òg,' 'ma bheireas iad oirnn; ach theid mise 'nan comhdhail, 's ma chi thusa gu marbh iad mise teichidh tu.' Ghabh e 'na ruith 'nan comhdhail. 'An d' thainig sibh?' ors esan, 'tha mi sgìth 'g ur n-iarraidh, 's a' sealltuinn air ur son.' 'Dé an iarraidh a bh' agad oirnne?' ors an ceannard. 'Chuala mi', ors esan, 'gur e gaisgich 's daoine foghainteach a bh' annaibh, 's bha toil agam ur faicinn, 's a thuilleadh sin bha fhios agam gu'm biodh sibh fuar acrach, 's bha toil agam biadh bhi deas air ur cionn.' Thug e stigh iad, 's chuir e iad 'nan suidhe aig a' bhòrd. Bha iad ann dà fhear dheug, 's rinn e da phìos dheug air na h-eoin a bh'aige, 's thuirt e gur e 'n doigh a bh' aca an tigh athar-san gu'n gabhadh iad an fheoil an toiseach, 's a phìos fhein deas aig a h-uile h-aon diubh, 's cead tòiseachadh. 'Tha sin ceart gu leoir,' thuirt an ceannard. Cha luaitha shluig iad an fheoil na thuit iad thall 's a bhos marbh. 'Mach a nis, a bhràthair eudail, 's ma

bha riamh na roimhe so gu leoir de'n t-saoghal againn tha e againn a nis.' Thill iad do'n uaimh a rithist, 's chuir iad an oidhche seachad gu-subhach, solasach.

Sa' mhaduinn dh' fhalbh iad, 's thug iad leo uiread de dh' òr 's de dh' airgiod 's a b'urrainn daibh; 's beul uidhe ri anmoch chunnaic iad tigh boidheach geal, 's thuirt am bràthair òg ris a' bhràthair bu shine, 'Bheil fhios agad dé 'n tigh tha shios an sud.' 'Cha'n'eil,' thuirt a bhràthair. 'Sid agad tigh ridire nan ceist, is ann bhios sinn an nochd, 's cuiridh e ceist oirnn, 's mur fuasgail sinn a' cheist bidh ar cinn air an stob tha mu choinneamh an tighe aige-san air maduinn am maireach.' 'Mata,' thuirt am fear eile, 'cha teid sinn idir ann.' 'Sid mar bhitheas,' ors am fear òg, 'bidh mise 'nam ghille agadsa, 's theid thusa comhla ris an ridire, 's theid mise leis na gillean, 's ma chuireas e ceist ortsa abair thusa ris nach fhiach leatsa a fuasgladh ach gu fuasgail do ghille i.' Rinn iad sin. Chuir ridire nan ceist ceist air a' bhràthair mhor, 's thuirt esan gu robh gille aige dh' fhuasgladh a' cheist. 'Faigh a nuas do ghille.' Thainig e 'n tiotadh, 's dh' fhuasgail e cheist. 'An da,' ors an ridire, 'tha mo cheann-sa nis co geal ri meall lìn; is ioma duine chuir a' cheist a cheann air an stob, 's cha d' fhuair mi riamh h-aon a dh' fhuasgail i gus an nochd.' Ors am fear òg, 'Cuiridh mise nis ceist ortsa, 's feuch am fuasgail thu i.' 'Cluinneam i,' ors an ridire. 'Rinn bean deoch do dh'aon, 's mharbh an deoch triùir, 's mharbh an triùir dà fhear dheug, 's fhuair dithis as.' Thòisich an ridire air smaointeachadh, 's chaidh e roimh na ceistean 's roimh na leabhraichean, 's ged bhiodh e gu latha bhràth dol rompa cha'n fhuasgladh e i. Thuirt esan an sin ris an ridire, 'Tha mise falbh, 's mur bi cheist fuasgailte agad roimh dhà uair dheug am maireach bidh do cheann fhein air an stob.' Dh' fhairtlich air sin a dheanamh. Cha robh aig an ridire ach aon nighean, 's chur e i far an robh iad a radh riu gu faigheadh iad an uiread-sa dh'òr 's a leithid eile dh' airgiod, 's leth na h-oighreachd co fad 's a bhiodh e beo, agus an nighean, ach fuasgladh na ceist a thoirt da. Thuirt am fear òg ris an sin gur ann bha iadsan a' tilgeil òir is airgid

air na rathaidean mora, 's nach fhuasgladh sin a' cheist. 'Agus, a bhràthair, 's fhearr dhuit-sa an nighean a phosadh; cha'n'eil sinn ach air allaban 's an amhghar an so co-dhiù.' 'Tha mi cinnteach,' thuirt am bràthair bu shine, 'gu bheil sin cheart cho maith.' Dé bh'ann ach gu'n do shuidhich iad aige so, 's chaidh latha air a shon a chur air leth, 's 'nuair bha chuirm air aghaidh, thainig creutair grannda stigh, 's ghabh e seachad orra aig a' bhòrd. Dh' eirich am fear òg, 's thuirt e ris an fhear eile—'Eirich a nis 's bheireamaid as a chéile e mar bha chridh' aige tighinn a dheanamh tàir oirnn.' As a dheighinn thug iad; rug fear air chluasan 's fear air earball air. Dh'-eirich e suas anns an adhar leotha. Sheall am bràthair bu shine fodha, 's cha robh e faicinn an talmhanta ach na shuileagan uaine, 's leig e as a ghreim, 's c'àite 'n do thuit e ach ann am pàirc nan torc biadhta aig Fionn mac Cumhaill. Bha sannt bìdh air, 's mharbh e fear de na tuirc, 's rinn e feannadh builg air. Bha sin cruaidh-theine is spor aige, 's chuir e taobh beoil dhearg na seiche mach, 's taobh an fhionnaidh a stigh, 's mar chuir e suas an teine thòisich e air ròsladh a bhidhidh. Bha Fionn 'na luidhe tinn, 's dh'iarr e air fear coimhead nam beathaichean fiadhaich sealltuinn a mach. 'Nuair rinn e sin, chunnaic e gur e 'n torc a b'fhearr a chaidh a mharbhadh, 's dh' innis e do dh' Fhionn gu robh a chraicionn 'na bhothan-àiridh 's toit as, 's coltas an duine bha fodha. 'Mach,' orsa Fionn, 'dà fhear dheug, 's thoiribh an so e, co sam bith e. 'Nuair rainig iad e, ghlaodh iad ris e thighinn a mach gus an cuireadh iad an cuibheal bhall e. Thuirt e nach tigeadh gus am biodh a shàth aige de'n bhiadh. Ghabh iad a stigh g'a thoirt a mach, 's a' chuibheal bhall aca. Leam esan 's rug e air a' chuibheal bhall, 's thilg e mu'n cuairt orra i, 's theannaich e air a chéile iad mar shopag connlaich, 's thilg e an culaibh a' bhothain-àiridh iad. Bha Fionn a' gabhail fadail nach robh iad a' tighinn, 's dh' iarr e air an fhear riagh-ailt a bha sin sealltuinn a mach feuch dé bha 'g an cumail. 'Nuair thill esan air ais thuirt e ri Fionn gu robh an smuid a' dol na bu mhotha 's na bu mhotha aig an fhear a bha sa' bhothan-àiridh.

'Mach,' orsa Fionn, 'dà fhear dheug de m' ghillean, 's thoiribh an so e, co sam bith e.' Dh' fhalbh iad, 's ghlaodh iad ris tighinn a mach. Thuirt e nach tigeadh, gus am faigheadh e leoir bidhidh. Rug e orra, 's cheangail e comhla iad, 's thilg e air culaibh a' bhothain-àiridh iad. Dar dh'innseadh do dh' Fhionn gu robh an smuid fhathast a' fas na bu mhotha, thuirt e—'Feumaidh gur e ceatharnach fuathasach a th'ann.' Dh'eirich e mach gun dàil, 's choisich e gu falchaidh, 's fhuair e na gaisgich aige fhein air an ceangal. Chuir e stigh a lamh sa' bhothan-àiridh, 's fhuair e greim air an fhear a bha stigh, 's thug e mach e gu theis-meadhoin. Thug am fear a bha stigh spìonadh air-san, 's thug e stigh a cheart uiread e, 's thilg e air taobh thall an teine e, gus an do bhuail a dhruim fodha anns a' bhothan-àiridh. Smaointich Fionn gu robh e fada bho chairdean 's dluth air naimhdean, 's thuirt e ris—'Fois air do laimh, 'ille laidir'; 's gu robh e 'g iarraidh maitheanais, 's gu faodadh e beag mor 's a bh'aige de bhiadh fhaighinn. Fhreagair esan gu robh sid aige ri fhaotainn—maitheanas. Dh'fharraid Fionn c'ainm a bh'air, 's thuirt e gur e Gille nan cochull craicinn an t-ainm theirteadh ris. Dh'iarr Fionn air fasdadh a dheanamh ris; 'S cha'n iarr mi car ach na thoilicheas tu fhein a dheanamh, 's gu leig thu dhachaidh mo chuid daoine sàbhailt.' Dh' fhuasgail e sin na daoine 's leig e dhachaidh iad. Mar rainig e tigh Fhinn fhuair e gabhail aige gu maith 's gu ro mhaith. Bha iad a' cluich mar sin, 's a' cordadh gu maith. Dar rachadh esan do'n t-sabhal 's e an obair a bh' aige bhi tilgeil gillean Fhinn bho bhois gu bois thar nan sparran, fear air gach bois. Latha sin co thainig a stigh ach an Eachrais-urlair, 's thuirt i ris, 'S tu aon duine 's motha paigheadh 's as lugha feum a chunnaic no chuala duine riamh mu thimchioll.' Thug esan sgiobag dhi 's an aodann le barr a mheoir, 's dh' fhalbh ise, 's *'blia 'blia* aice, far an robh Fionn. 'Nach d'thuirt mi riut an duine sin a sheachnadh, gur e duine cunnartach a bh' ann?' orsa Fionn. 'Cuir as da, mata,' ors ise. 'Ciamar ni mi sin?' orsa Fionn. 'Cuiridh mise do dh' àite e nach tig e as am feasd,' ors ise. 'C'àite bheil sin,' orsa Fionn. 'Gu fear an Achaghloine, feuch

dé chum e gun ghuth, gun ghean, gun ghàire fad sheachd bliadhna.' Bha Fionn déidheil air so a chluinntinn, 's chaidh e far an robh e feuch an rachadh e ann. 'Ni mi sin,' thuirt esan, 'ma theid duine dh'ionnsachadh an rathaid dhomh.' 'Cuiridh mi h-aon sam bith ann ach an Eachrais-urlair,' thuirt Fionn. 'Cha ghabh mise duine ach an Eachrais-urlair,' thuirt esan. Bha iad a' falbh comhla. 'Sin an tigh shuas an sin, 's cha bhi agad fhein ach dol g'a ionnsuidh.' 'An teid thu fhein na's fhaide na sin?' 'Cha téid,' ors ise. Thug e fídeag oirre, 's chàirich e i ann am poll moine chunnaic e urchair gunna uaithe, gus nach robh an uachdar dhi ach dà mhalaidh 's dà shuil. ''S ciamar sam bith dh'eireas dhomhsa bidh fhios agadsa mu fag thu sin dé dh'éireas dhuit fhein,' ors esan. Ghabh e suas, 's fhuair e fear an Achaghloine aig an teine, 's chaidh iad an caraibh a chéile, 's an t-àite bu chruaidhe rachadh iad fodha gu bac nan easgaidean, an ath urchair gus na gluinean, 's anns an àite bu bhuige gus an cneas. Thòisich esan air smaointeachadh gu robh e fada bho chàirdean 's dluth d'a naimhdean, 's thug e togail aotrom aighearach do dh' fhear an Achaghloine; chuir e air stèidhaill a dhroma e, 's tharrainn e nall ealag 's tuadh, 's thuirt e ris—'Mur innis thu dhomh c'arson a tha thu gun ghuth, gun ghean, gun ghàire fad sheachd bliadhna sgobaidh mi an ceann dhiot air an ealaig.' 'Fois air do laimh, 's innsidh mi sin dhuit.' 'Cluinneam e.' 'Ni mi sin, mata. Bha mi fhein an sid 's mo dhaoine, 's sinn a' cluich air clar taileasg, 's thainig creutair grannda stigh 's ghabh e seachad oirnn, 's dh' fhalbh mise 's mo dhaoine 's rug sinn air, 's thog e air falbh sinn gus an d' fhag e sinn anns an eilean ruadh aig Ai; chuir iad sin a mach mo dhaoine-sa a thoirt a stigh an tuirc nimhe, agus chuir esan an gath annta 's mharbh e iad. An sin chuir fear an tighe greideal air an teine 's 'nuair bha ghreideal teth, chuir e mise 'nam shuidhe oirre gus an do loisgear mi gus an cnaimh, 's e sin a chum mise gun ghuth, gun ghean, gun ghàire fad sheachd bliadhna.' 'Nach bochd nach tigeadh an creutair sin a stigh an ceart-uair,' orsa Gille nan cochull craicinn. Mu'n do leig e deireadh an fhacail as

a bheul thainig an creutair a stigh. 'Eirich a nis,' ors esan. 'Cha'n eirich mise gu bràth as a dheigh,' thuirt ridire 'n Achaghloine. 'Eirich, neo cuiridh mi car 'n ad amhaich mar gum biodh cearc'; 's dh' eirich iad le chéile, 's rug iad air a' chreutair, 's dh' fhalbh i leotha gus an d'fhag i iad 'san eilean ruadh an Ai a rithist. Chuir esan an sin na gillean aig fear an eilean a mach dh' iarraidh torc nimhe, 's mharbh an torc nimhe na gillean. Chuir e sin air a' ghreideal, 's 'nuair bha i geal chuir e fear an tighe 'na shuidhe uirre gus an do loisgeadh gu bàs e. Bha triuir mhnathan ruadha shuas an uachdar an tighe, 's thug esan ionnsuidh le stob iarruinn airson am marbhadh. 'Fois air do laimh,' orsa na mnathan, 'tha stòpan iocshlainte againne bheir beo daoine an duine tha leat.' Rinn esan air a shocair, 's fhuair iad an stòpan iocshlainte 's thuirt iad ris an fhear eile—'C'àite bheil do chuid daoine 'nan laidhe'; 's chuir iad deur dheth am beul an fheadhainn a bhuineadh dhasan bha marbh, 's thug iad beo iad, 's dh' fhalbh iad dhachaidh gu toilichte solasach 's na daoine leotha, 's 'nuair bha iad a' dealachadh, thuirt fear an Achaghloine ris—'Uair sam bith bhios tu an càs no an eigin iarr mise, 's cha'n 'eil an ceithir ranna ruadh an domhain 's na urrainn seasamh 'nar n-aghaidh.' Dh' fhag esan beannachd aige. Suil gu'n d' thug Fionn a mach 's co chunnaic e tilleadh ach esan, 's thuirt e, ''s mi fhein a dh'fhaodadh mo gheall a chur, 'nuair dh'fhairtlich e orm fhein 's air mo chuid daoine, gu faodadh uile 's an t-saoghal sgur dheth.' Dh' innis e do dh' Fhionn dé chum fear an Achaghloine gun ghuth, gun ghean, gun ghàire fad sheachd bliadhna, 's chaidh e mach mar rinn e roimhe don t-sabhal, 's thòisich e air iomairt nan gillean thar nan sparran. Thainig an Eachrais-urlair a stigh, 's thuirt i mar thuirt i roimhe. Thug esan cliofag dhi, 's chaidh i stigh ri taic far an robh Fionn. Thuirt e rithe—Nach d'thuirt mi riut an duine sin a sheachnadh, gu robh e cunnartach?' 'Cha sheachain mi e,' ors ise, 'ach cuiridh mi'n dràst e do dh'àite as nach till e.' 'C'àite 'eil sin,' orsa Fionn. 'Gu fear an Achabhuidhe,' ors ise, 'dh' iarraidh cupa cheatharnaich air, cha'n' eil

fear lag no laidir a chaidh an sin a thainig as riamh beo.' Chuir Fionn fios air—' Dé 's àill leibh, Fhinn ? ' thuirt esan. ' Thusa dhol gu ridire an Achabhuidhe dh'iarraidh tacain de'n chupa cheatharnaich.' Thuirt e mar thuirt e roimhe gu rachadh, ach nach gabhadh e duine beo ach an Eachrais-urlair dh' ionnsachadh an rathaid dha. Dh'fhalbh iad comhla. ' Nis,' ors ise, 'nuair bha iad 's an dealachadh, ' tha 'n tigh shuas os do chionn ; cha teid mise na's fhaide.' Rinn esan mar rinn e roimhe : thilg e ann am poll moine i, ach dh'aon ni g' an d'fhuair i fhuair i tighinn as sid. Lean esan air aghaidh suas, 's aig seann togalach bha sin thachair baigeir air a dh'fharraid dheth c'àite an robh e dol. Dh'innis e dha. ' An da,' thuirt am baigeir, 'sin an t-àite 'san robh mise 'n raoir, 's 'nuair chi iad leithid de choltas duine ortsa feuchaidh iad ri d' mharbhadh, a chionn 's e daoine laidir treun tha sin, 's cha deachaidh h-aon riamh air an turus air a bheil thusa dol a thill le sgeul ; ach,' ors esan, 'tha iad caomhail ri baigeirean, 's cuir thusa ort na lùirichean a th' ormsa, 's leig ort gur e baigeir bochd a th'annad 's gheibh thu stigh.' Rinn e sin, 's ghabh e suas le ceum an dràst 's a rithist bho thaobh gu taobh. 'Nuair mhothaich fear an Achabhuidhe dha tighinn thuirt e ri dha-oine dol an comhdhail a' bhaigeir bha tighinn dh'ionnsuidh an tighe, 's gu'm bu shuarach am fear a bh'ann an raoir seach am fear bha tighinn an nochd, 's gu robh e coltach ri bhi 'na cheath-arnach uaireigin de'n t-saoghal ged tha e dol air ais cho mor so. Chaidh fear de na daoine fo gach achlais a chuideachadh an duine bhochd dh'ionnsuidh an tighe. 'Nuair gheibheadh esan cothrom leagadh e chudthrom orra, 's bhristeadh e na cnamh-an aca 'nan smùraich. Dh'iarr fear an Achabhuidhe air a mhnaoi an cupa ceatharnaich a thoirt a nuas 's deoch thoirt da as. ' Tha e co maith dhuit leigeil leis a' chupa cheatharnaich far a bheil e,' ors ise. ' Nuas e, o 'n tha mise 'ga iarraidh,' ors esan. Chaidh an cupa thoirt a nuas, 's bha'm baigeir 's a lamhan 's a cheann air chrith a' toirt balgum as a' chupa. 'Nuair fhuair e cothrom leum e 's chuir e'n tigh air chrith, 's a mach ghabh e. Ghlaodh am fear eile, ' Dhaoine, ma rinn sibh riamh e, feuch am faigh sibh greim air an

òganach;' ach cha robh ploc bha e tilgeil as an talamh ghlas le dhà chois nach robh 'g an dalladh as a dheigh, 's cha robh aca ach tilleadh dhachaidh—dh'fhairtlich orra cur ris. Fhuair e an duine bochd far an d'fhag e e. 'Tha thu air tilleadh, a dhuine fhoghaintich,' thuirt am baigeir ris. 'Tha,' ors esan, ''s bha feum agam ortsa;' 's chuir e lamh 'na phòca 's thug e dha lan a laimhe, 's dhealaich iad. Suil thug Fionn a mach 's co chunnaic e tighinn ach esan. 'Na robh mi so,' orsa Fionn, 'mur e fhein tha so air tilleadh; 's mi dh'fhaodadh mo gheall a chur gu faodainn m'earbsa chur ann.' Thuirt e ris an Eachrais-urlair, 'Nach robh thu ag radhainn rium nach robh duine beo thainig as sid riamh.' 'Bha,' ors ise, 'cha'n eil e furasda cur as dhasan, ach cuiridh mis' an dràst e dh' àite nach tig e as gu bràth.' Thainig esan 's shìn e 'n cupa ceatharnaich d' Fhionn 's chaidh e mar rinn e roimhe do'n t-sabhal, 's thainig an Eachrais-urlair stigh sa' cheart doigh. An latha-sa bhuail e i na bu mhotha, is ann air eigin 's gu'n d'fhuair i stigh. Ghabh Fionn truas dhi mar rinn e roimhe. 'Fhinn mhaith,' ors ise, 'Cuireadh sibhs' air falbh e far a bheil gaisgeach na leine bàine feuch dé an cor a th'air; cha do chuir e riamh air ach leine bhàn an latha b' fhuaire thigeadh sa' bhliadhna dhol do'n bheinn shithne is sheilg.' Chaidh fios air-san. 'S an deigh farraid de 'n turus bh'aig Fionn ris chaidh innseadh dha, 's mu dhéighinn an fhir bha e ri dol g'a ionnsuidh. Nuair dh'iarr e duine rachadh comhla ris, thuirt iad ris gu faigheadh e h-aon sam bith dh'ionnsachadh an rathaid dha ach an Eachrais-urlair, chionn gu robh i thun bhi marbh. 'Cha ghabh mi ach ise,' thuirt esan. 'Feumaidh i dol ann, mata,' thuirt Fionn. Dh'fhalbh iad 's rainig iad aiseag. 'Sin,' ors ise, 'curachan, 's bheir i nunn thu, 's nuair ruigeas tu thall till a h-aghaidh an rathad eile, 's thig i fhein air ais.' ''S cha teid thu fhein na 's fhaide na sin?' 'Cha téid, tha mi fada gu leoir.' Rug esan oirre 's chur e thairis ris an talamh i gus 'na phronn e na cnamhan aice, 's chuir e sin clach mhor os a cionn, 's thuirt e—'Bi thusa sin, cha'n urrainn duit a nis mise chur do'n ath àite.' Ghabh e nunn leis a' churachan, 's bha dithis mhnathan an uachdar an tighe, 's dh fharraid e

dhiubh c'àite an robh Gaisgeach na leine bàine. Thuirt iad ris gu robh sa' bheinn shithne 's sheilg, 's e dh' fheitheamh. 'Nuair thainig an ridire dhachaidh's eallach throm de dh'eoin aige thuirt e ris na mnathan—'Tha coigreach agaibh an nochd.' 'Nuair ghabh e biadh, chaith e 'n coigreach thar sia sparran, ach thilg an coigreach esan thar ochd sparran; an sin thilg e rithist e thar seachd, ach chaith am fear eile esan thar deich. Dar chunnaic ridire na leine bàine gu robh e na bu treasa na e fhein, bha iarunn mor aige airson bhi dathadh nan ian, 's thug e mach an t-iarunn as an teine air son a chur 's an fhear eile. Ghlaodh na mnathan—'Fois air do laimh, a ridire na leine bàine, 's ann a th' agad do bhràthair.' 'An e mo bhràthair a th' agam an so?' ors esan. 'S e, 's tha sinne fada gu leoir 'g ur cumail bho chéile, sinn a' bhéisd mhor fo gheasaibh a bh'aig a' bhanais an tigh ridire nan ceist, 's a thug air falbh thu fhein is ridire an Achaghloine do'n eilean ruadh Ai, 's a thug beo na daoine. Dh' fhuirich do bhràthair leinn riamh gus so: tha sinn a nis a' dealachadh ribh 's a' fagail beannachd leibh.' Dh' innis esan an sin do'n bhràthair òg an eachdraidh, 's mar chuir Fionn air falbh e h-uile uair 'nuair dh'iarradh an Eachrais-urlair air. 'So dhuit-sa slat òir,' thuirt ridire na leine bàine, ''s iomain mise romhad gu tigh Fhinn.' 'Nuair chunnaic Fionn an dithis a' tighinn thainig balla-chrith air fhein 's air a chuid daoine leis an eagal, 's thuirt e ris an Eachrais-urlair, 'Nach d'thuirt mi riut nach gabhadh e marbhadh?' Chuir e failt' orra, 's thuirt e—''S mise dh' fhaodadh m'earbsa chur as mo ghille,' 's dh' iarr e air tighinn a stigh 's gu faigheadh e thuarasdal. 'C'àite bheil an cupa ceatharnaich?' dh' fharraid am fear òg. 'Nach d'fhag thu agam fhein e?' thuirt Fionn. Thug Fionn an sin dha e, 's bha e toilichte. Thill na bràithrean gu tigh ridire nan ceist, 's chaidh banais mhor a mhair latha 's bliadhna a dheanamh. Thill iad an sin dhachaidh, 's fhuair iad an athair air fas dall bodhar leis an duilichinn, ach fhuair e air ais trian d'a leirsinn 's d'a chlaisteachd 'nuair chunnacas an toiseach iadsan a' tighinn, 's dà thrian 'nuair thainig iad na bu dluithe, 's tri trian 'nuair rainig iad an tigh. Chaidh an rioghachd a shuidheachadh orra. Sin mar dh'eirich dhaibh an uair sin.

PAN-CELTIC NOTES

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

AT an Ordinary Meeting of the British Academy, held in the rooms of the Royal Society, Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., President, in the chair, Sir John Rhys, Fellow of the Academy, read a paper on 'The Coligny Calendar: in its relation to the Celtic Mythology of the British Isles, especially Ireland.'

In the course of his Paper, Sir John Rhys said Coligny was a place about ten miles north of Lyons. There, in the year 1897, numerous fragments of an inscribed tablet of bronze were found, together with other fragments which had no writing on them. These last had been put together and made up an almost perfect statue of the god of the temple in which, presumably, the tablet was set up. The latter measured when complete 1·48 mètre by 0·90, and it proved to have been a calendar for the period of five years. The language was Celtic but not Gaulish; it seemed to fit best as an early stage of what in Ireland became the Irish language as known in old Irish MSS., and in the Ogam inscriptions of Ireland and the west of Britain. The five years of the calendar included two intercalary months of thirty days each. One of the two began the calendar and stood before the month of Samonios, or June, and marked that month as the first month of the year. The other intercalary month came in the third year, and was placed in front of the first month of the other half year—namely, Giamonios, or December. Sir John Rhys proceeded to interpret a note at the end of the first intercalary month, which seemed to say that the thirty days of that month had already had the *clavus anni* placed in the hole opposite each of those days; that was, that they had already been marked off when the calendar was set up in the beginning of Samonios, or June.

The first year of the five was the most correct, astronomically speaking, and Rivros, or August, was the most important month in it. Sir John found evidence that the god Rivos, after whom Rivros is called, was supposed to reside among his people during that month, or a portion of it. In the other four years he seemed to have been represented by his priest. Then followed some account of the area on the Continent, in Britain, and in Ireland over which the cult of the god Lug extended, and statements as to Lug establishing the great fairs or assemblies of ancient Erin were considered at some length. The inference which Sir John drew was that Rivos was a local name of the god Lugus, after whom the city of Lugudunum was named, together with thirteen others, including among them that of Leyden in Holland. Instances were next given of how the insular legends about Lug and the Coligny Calendar threw light on one another. The reconstruction of the Coligny Calendar, proposed in 1898 by M. le Commandant Espérandieu after the chart by M. Dissard and M. Espérandieu, was sub-

mitted to the meeting, 'Edited by John Rhys, with later corrections by M. Dissard, Professor Lechat, and the Editor.' The brochure will shortly be issued by the Academy.

In this calendar the month of May is called by a name signifying the month of horse-racing. In Finnis 1st Summer Song there is a passage curiously confirmatory of this, and showing that Beltane was the season for horse-racing.

Times, January 28th, 1910.

PAN-CELTIC CONGRESS

As announced to members of the Celtic Association it had been practically decided to hold the Association's fourth Triennial Congress in the last week of August of this year in conjunction with L'Union Celtique, a Brussels organisation established by Mr. J. de Courcy MacDonnell, an Irish journalist and a *persona grata* with the Belgian Government, who, at his instance, promised free Congress Buildings and free space for a Celtic Exhibition which, it was proposed, should form part of this year's Brussels Exposition Universelle.

A Committee of the Celtic Association thereupon drew up along with Mr. de Courcy MacDonnell a Memorial addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asking for Treasury support to the proposed Exhibition.

To this influentially-signed memorial the Chancellor of the Exchequer returned a very sympathetic though unsatisfactory reply, stating that, whilst deeply interested in the proposed Exhibition, he could not advise any addition for such a specific purpose to the Treasury Grant already promised in aid of the British Exhibitors at the Belgian, Rome, and Turin Exhibitions. It is as well, however, that the full scheme for a Celtic Exhibition, though abandoned for the year 1910, should still be before all sympathisers with Celtic enterprise.

The Executive had, therefore, very reluctantly to decline proceeding further in combination with L'Union Celtique, at the same time intimating to that Association their intention to postpone their own Pan-Celtic Congress till 1911. Indeed, the electoral unrest in Brittany, and in the rest of the six nations makes such a policy advisable. Such a postponement, moreover, gives fairer play to L'Union Celtique for holding a Celtic Congress of their own, as it is understood they still propose to do.

Let it be understood, however, that the Exhibition Scheme suggested in the first instance by Mr. Henry Jenner, Vice-President for Cornwall, will, in all probability, be revived in the near future and carried out either at the near Pan-Celtic Congress in which the Bretons have the first claim, or in London.

But though the fourth Pan-Celtic Congress has been thus unavoidably postponed, the Executors are in no sense relaxing their energies. Besides encouraging their members to attend this year's Eisteddfod, Oireachtas

Festival, Mòd, Breton and Regional Festivals, they are planning intersectional meetings of the London Celts at Pan-Celtic Concerts and at lectures delivered before the Metropolitan, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Manx and Cornish Associations.

SCOTTISH NOTES

The Summer School of Gaelic under the auspices of An Comunn Gaidhealach is to be held this year in Oban during the month of August. The Education Committee of An Comunn are making satisfactory progress with the arrangements; competent teachers have been appointed, and an influential committee at Oban are taking charge of the local arrangements. The school, it is expected, will be recognised by the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers, and subject to this recognition, the Secondary Education Committee for the Highland Counties will, it is hoped, provide grants to assist teachers to attend. The first experiment of this kind was made last autumn at Roy Bridge, and the promoters had every reason to be satisfied with the success which attended their effort. It is hoped that teachers and others wishing to improve their knowledge of Gaelic will take advantage of the facilities thus afforded. There will be three grades of classes, elementary, intermediate, and advanced, and also a class for Gaelic singing.

The Comunn is increasing in strength and usefulness. Several new branches have been formed during the past winter, and from eight to ten local mod's are to be held during the year in various districts.

The local Committee of the Mod to be held in Edinburgh this year are actively engaged in making preparatory arrangements. The Mod syllabus in Gaelic and English can now be had from the Comunn secretary, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow.

WELSH NOTE

'Haneirin.'

Mr. Nicholson's explanation (*supra*, p. 217) of the name of Aneurin, the brother of St. Gildas (†554) is inexact. In the first place, Latin *h* was not retained in words borrowed by the Welsh. For instance—*hăbēn-am*, *hōr-am*, *hospit-em*, have become 'afwyn,' 'awr,' and 'yspyt,' respectively. The correct eighth-century form of *Hŏnōrīn-us* is 'Eneirin,' just as 'Celeini-on' (MSS. *cair celemion*), the name of Lincoln in the *Nomina Ciuitatum*, is the correct representative of *Cŏlōni-a*. The descent of the word would appear to be this: **ŏnōrīn*—*ănaurin—*ănārin. The second form is represented by 'Aneurin.' The last yielded, primarily, 'Aneirin': 'Gododin,' lines 444, 524, 891; and finally *eneirin*. This form obviously occurred in the valuable little notice about the poets of the Cymry which was reproduced

by Nennius, who supposed that it stood for *et neirin*. The transmitted *umlaut* is also found in 'Ceredig' for *Cŏrŏtic*, and in 'peleidyr,' the old plural of *pălādr*; 'Gododin,' lines 340, 700, 721, 743, 950.

A. ANSCOMBE.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland. By GEORGE HENDERSON, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., Celtic Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose and Sons. 1910. 10s.

This is a work which will undoubtedly be read with much interest by all Highlanders, and especially by those belonging to the north and west, who care to know anything about the past history of their people. Here for the first time they will be able to study in a connected form the evidence which goes to prove that many centuries ago the Gael of Scotland was profoundly influenced from without—that the Norse fighting man, the Norse trader, the Norse settler, had much to do with shaping the later fortunes of the Highlands. Separate parts of the question have from time to time been dealt with by different hands, though not always with equal fulness or success. Dr. Henderson has endeavoured to treat the subject as a whole, and by doing so, makes its importance all the more apparent. Further investigations of the various problems must start from the results which he has summed up here, so far as they are found to be in harmony with the facts on both sides of the question. This proviso is a necessary one, for, as will appear presently, Dr. Henderson's work is in some points susceptible of improvement.

The opening chapter, on 'The Historic Background,' gives a succinct account of the Norwegian settlements in Scotland, and only a few points here call for remark. It ought perhaps to be noticed, if only to prevent possible misunderstanding, that the name of *papar* which the Norsemen gave to the Culdees is simply the Latin *papa* or Greek *papas*, which among the German peoples on the Continent came to be the ordinary word for 'priest' (cf. Old Frisian *papa*, Low German *pape*, High German *pfaffe*); it was almost certainly from that side, and not from the Culdees themselves, that the Norsemen learned the word. The statement on p. 32, that 'Earl Thorfinn also ruled in Galloway,' is founded on an erroneous reading, and curiously enough Dr. Henderson goes on to give the only correct version of the passage, which shows that the Earl was only temporarily lying 'at the place called Gadd-geðlar where Scotland and England meet.' That *Gadd-geðlar* is intended to represent *Gall-gaidheal* is clear enough, and the locality is definitely indicated, but there is more difficulty in the precise relationship of this name to the later *Galloway* than is implied in the remarks on p. 18.

The chapter on 'Scoto-Norse Art' is very brief, and the scantiness of the material is somewhat surprising. In connection with this part of the

subject, however, a number of good illustrations are given, Runic stones from Inchmarnock and Barra, the Hunterston brooch, etc. Towards the end of the chapter Dr. Stewart is quoted as deriving *Camus Fridaig* 'probably from the Scandinavian goddess Fridda or Frigga,' but any such *Fridda* is quite unknown to the old northern mythology.

'Scoto-Norse Personal Names' is a more fertile scheme, but the first page contains a strange statement. Dr. Henderson says, 'Cleasby [and] Vigfusson's *Dictionary* states that *porljotr* is found on many runic stones in Denmark, and that Macleod is probably from *Macljótr*, the *por-* not having been inserted (*Dict.*, p. 744),' and he adds in a footnote 'This is impossible: it would give Mac Thorleot.' Now there is no statement of this nature either on p. 744 or on p. 743 (which contains the article on *pórr*), and Vigfusson at any rate knew that *Ljótr* by itself was a Norwegian and Icelandic name. Something must have gone wrong with Dr. Henderson's notes here. Apart from this, however, and a few minor points, the chapter is one of the most satisfactory in the book. There is much more doubtful matter in the one that follows, on 'Norse Influences in Belief and Ritual among the Gaidheal.' This is of all others the subject in which caution is required: it is so easy to find resemblances, and so difficult to determine whether they are due to the precise influence in question or to some wider common cause. The affair of Halmadary, which to Dr. Henderson 'shows the tenacity of Norse heathen ideas,' does not appear to differ materially from cases of religious frenzy in other countries. In several cases the supposed influence depends on a doubtful identification of words, as that of Gaelic *fríth* with Norse *frétt*. This appears improbable, as Norse *é* and *tt* would not normally give Gaelic *í* and *th*; nor does it matter that *frétt* stands for an earlier **freht* for this is also the case with Norse *slétta*, which gives the place-name *Sleat*. It is extremely improbable, also, that Callarnish can be 'derived from *Kjallar*, a Norse name of Odin'; the correct form is *Kjalarr*, with genitive *Kjalars*, but like so many more names for the gods, there is no trace of it outside of the old poetry, and no evidence that it would ever have been used in a place-name. That *Nōgi* could represent Norse *nykr* seems phonetically impossible, and as *teine-éiginn* corresponds exactly to the English and Scottish *need-fire*, which is a very old term in the Teutonic languages, the suggestion that *éiginn* may represent an ON. *eikinn*, 'oaken,' has little probability. Equally improbable is the attempt to explain *crann-tára* as from ON. *her-ör*, war-arrow, and quite incredible the idea that the Gaelic word was re-adopted in ON. as *tara*, 'war.' It must be noted that nothing is really known of this word, beyond the fact that it occurs in an alliterative list of poetic terms appended to part of Snorn's Edda. These terms were collected at a pretty early date (probably about 1200) from still older poems, and this chronology is quite sufficient to show that the suggestion is altogether untenable. The idea that the English *eagre*, 'river-bore,' preserves the name of the Old Norse sea-god *Ægir* is against all phonetic laws, and the same objection applies to the

Gaelic *Eigir*. As *Shony* is a sea-god, it is difficult to see any connection with *Sjöfn*, who was a goddess of love! But, 'in any case the word is Norse,' says Dr. Henderson—a method of reasoning which does not altogether carry conviction with it. In the note on *dreag*, *dreug*, or *driug*, 'meteor,' the ON. *draugr* is set aside on phonetic grounds, and the word is said to be an adoption of the equivalent Old English *dréag*. But OE. *g* would have given Gaelic *gh*, and moreover there is no such word as an OE. '*dréag*, apparition.' These examples are perhaps sufficient to show that this chapter requires close revision, nor would it suffer by the excision of various passages which have but little direct bearing on the subject.

'Norse Linguistic Influence' is a very long chapter, and it might have been better to devote a separate one to the place-names, as these are on a somewhat different footing from words actually adopted into current speech. It is in this chapter that the Norse influence on the Gael comes out most strongly, and it is also the one in which an intimate knowledge of both Scandinavian and Gaelic is most necessary. Unfortunately, from the very beginning of the book signs are not wanting that Dr. Henderson's equipment on the Scandinavian side is rather slender, as when he prints 'pap øy stór-r' for 'papøy stóra,' 'piórsa-á' for 'pjórs-á,' cites 'N. *lagamaðr*, pl. *lögmenn*,' writes 'Greenland' for 'Grenland' (a district in Norway), does not distinguish between the names *Bjarni* and *Björn* (p. 58), and speaks of *Heimskringla Saga* (p. 78). In this chapter similar inaccuracies are far too frequent, and one is further surprised to find that no serious effort is made to master the details of Old Norse inflection, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to form place-names correctly. Hence such compounds as *tarfr-dalr*, *melr-fjörðr*, *Kjallakr-ey*, *eyrr-gil*, *Ulli-bólstaðr*, in which the first element is simply left in the nominative instead of being put into the proper combining or genitive form. Sometimes the accent (denoting length) is omitted, as in *vagr* for *vágr*, and sometimes wrongly inserted, as in *kjárr* for *kjarr*; on p. 175 one finds *fra Giljan* printed in place of *frá Giljom*, and so on. It cannot be said that these errors vitiate the general results of the chapter, but in themselves they are objectionable, and not always harmless.

There is so much detail in the matter treated here, that it is quite impossible to discuss the many separate points which might call for remark. Speaking generally, it may be said that in the main Dr. Henderson's identifications are correct in substance, though frequently marred by inaccuracies of the kind mentioned above. Sometimes, as in the cases of *ceòsanaich*, *droinip*, *langhadul*, etc., his suggestions are more ingenious than convincing, and a number of these might well have been relegated to a special list of doubtful words. The chronology of the Scandinavian words is also a matter of some importance, which is not sufficiently taken into consideration, and is indeed a difficult matter for one who has not made prolonged studies in that field. Altogether, one could wish that Dr. Henderson had thought of submitting this chapter to an impartial Scandinavian scholar, who could at least have

seen to the correctness of the forms, and would probably have given useful hints on other points. Some examples from the first few pages will show what might have been done in this way. The change of Gaelic *-rt* to *-rst*, *-st* is not correctly described as 'a change within Norse itself as in *purs*, also *puss*, a giant,' for the latter is a simple assimilation to *r* to *s*, while the former is the development of a new *s* altogether. It is not certain that *uinneag* is from ON. *vindauga*; the hard *-g* is more suggestive of Scottish *winnock*. The Norse word *klof* does not mean 'cloven,' and the proper word to cite is *klofi* (oblique cases *klofa*). For N. *krokr* read *krókr*. The N. *ávist*, being a rare and purely abstract word, is not likely to be the source of *aibhist*, ruin. It is unnecessary to cite 'dat. *aarni=árni*,' as *aa* is simply another method of writing a long *a*. On p. 115 *marag*, etc., is repeated from p. 113 with a new misprint of *-mör* for *-mörr*. On p. 116 'E. *stub*' is strangely cited between ON. *staup* and Dan. *stöb*; the two latter words are identical, but the English one is quite distinct. There is no Norse *úti-bak*, and the formation would be unlikely to arise. For N. *brókr* read *brók*, pl. *bróekr*. On p. 117 for *gerdi* read *gerði*. The hard *d* of *ùdrathad*, *ùtraid* could not come from ON. *útreiðð*; the word would more naturally represent an older Scottish *outraid* or English *outroad*. On p. 118 there is no reason why *bùandi* should have a different accent from *bóandi*. Lower down, for *hrúgi* read *hrúga*. On p. 119 *bollí* and *lokar* should be *bolli* and *lokarr*. On p. 121 (under *geadas*, pike) N. *gedda* is said to be 'allied to *goad*'; but *goad*, OE. *gád*, is a different word from ON. *gaddr*, to which *gedda* is related. On the same page '*ucas*, *ugsa*, coal-fish' is compared with 'N. *uggi*, a fin of a fish'; but the very fish in question is called in Icelandic *upsi* and in Norwegian *ufs*. (For the variation between *ps* and *cs*, cf. ON. *ups*, eaves of a house, which also appears as *ux*.) It is obvious that a thorough revision on these lines would have greatly improved the value of this part of Dr. Henderson's work.

'Continuation of Norse Influence,' which forms the sixth chapter, partakes of the defects of the fourth. In the earlier part of it there is much that might be questioned, and not a little that appears superfluous. This, however, may be to some extent a matter of opinion; racial qualities in literature are somewhat elusive things, and apparent traces of them will always appeal more strongly to some minds than to others. Even the reader who is not convinced of the reality of the Norse influence, as exemplified in Gaelic poetry and humour, may learn something new about Gaelic legend from the latter part of the chapter.

Of the various appendices the most interesting and useful is that on 'Gadhelic[1] Sounds in Loan-words from Norse.' Dealing with a wider field, it is naturally fuller than the table previously given by Dr. Watson in the

[1] It is difficult to see on what principle Dr. Henderson uses the various forms *Gaelic*, *Gadelic*, and *Gadhelic*. It is surely unnecessary to employ the latter forms when the modern tongue and people are referred to, and thus impair their usefulness for denoting the older linguistic and racial group, in contrast to *Brythonic*.

'Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty,' but, on the other hand, it is not well arranged, and contains a certain amount of doubtful matter. Naturally many of the inexact forms of the main work recur here, and sometimes new mistakes appear, such as 'stremyr-nes,' which is evidently intended for 'streymr-nes,' though this in itself is an impossible compound.

There are various points into which Dr. Henderson has not entered, such as the actual geographical range of the Norse influence, its effect on the physique and character of the districts where it was strongest, and the share taken by Norse leaders in the formation of the clans, but, on the whole, his work gives the main outlines of the question. From what has been said, however, it will be evident that his book does not by any means close the subject. There is still much to be done in reducing the matter to a definite shape, and establishing clear results. On the linguistic side there is still required fuller investigation of local words in the Norse districts, and a wider comparison with Irish on the one hand, and Lowland Scottish or English on the other. On the historic side clearer ideas are wanted as to the exact manner in which the Norse words passed into use among Gaelic speakers, why the Gaels took over Norse place-names instead of translating them or imposing new ones, and at what period the language of the West and North came to be exclusively Gaelic instead of largely Norwegian. To throw light on this there are the parallel cases in England and Normandy, where the descendants of Scandinavians also gave up their own language, but with very different effects upon the tongues they then adopted. Apart from the actual results which it contains, Dr. Henderson's book will serve a useful purpose if it helps to promote the further and more critical study of these various problems.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

Old Ross-shire and Scotland. By W. MACGILL, Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company. Crown 8vo, 435 pp. 20s. 6d. post free.

This work is the result of Mr. MacGill's researches among the documents preserved in the Balnagown charter-chest and in the archives of the ancient burgh of Tain. In the Court-house buildings of Tain there are stored many thousands of papers and parchments, some relating to the burgh, but by far the greater part being the documents of Commissary Courts held in Tain, Fortrose, and Cromarty. In Balnagown Castle there are three boxes full of papers of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, which were placed at Mr. MacGill's disposal by Sir Charles Ross. The two collections are closely related, and are largely supplementary of each other. They relate to all parts of Ross-shire and many parts of neighbouring counties, as well as to other parts of Scotland. The author—or rather the editor—has arranged his voluminous material under the headings of (1) Church Affairs; (2) Education and Medicine; (3) Law and Order, Politics and Revenue; (4) Houses and Furniture, Dress and Social Matters; (5) Industries, Commerce, and Communications; (6) Covenant, Commonwealth, and Revolution; (7) Stuart Risings

and Highland Regiments; (8) Localities and Families. The volume is illustrated with photographs of buildings, documents, and signatures, and has a good index.

Mr. MacGill has exercised his discretion in excising such parts of the documents as were, in his judgment, of no permanent value or interest. By this plan he has contrived to pack much more into his book than he could have done had he given the originals *in extenso*, and even if the result is a sort of antiquarian and historical pemmican, we are not inclined to quarrel with his decision. The book is a very mine of information, often curious, and great credit is due to Mr. MacGill for his pains and labour. His own remarks in square brackets show how completely he has mastered his materials, and help greatly to the understanding of the circumstances. Occasionally he tends to take 'phrases of style' too seriously, as if they represented the feelings of the client, whereas they are really legal commonplaces. But the service he has done is so great that it would be ungracious to insist on shortcomings that are after all but trifling. W. J. W.

Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz. Von ALFRED HOLDER. B. G. Teubner: Leipzig. 8s. per part.

The nineteenth part of this monumental and typically Germanic work consists of 128 pp., and contains articles from *Ad-vatucā* to *Avediur*, being an appendix to 130 pp. of the first volume. It will be seen that the appendix keeps pace in bulk with the book itself, a fact owing partly to the extent of the field, partly to the amount of new matter available since the publication of the first part of vol. i. in 1891. One or two points may be given in illustration. Advatuca, now Vetschau, N.W. of Aachen, is compared with O.F. *faidche*, *fáitche* (Gaelic *faich*)=*vaticia, the open place, the green before a fort, exercising ground. Anava, a river mentioned by the Geographer of Ravenna as between 'Dorvantium and Bdora,' is equated with our Annan, and seven Continental parallels are given, all but one in Germany. The Agosages, a Celtic tribe who fared from Europe into Asia Minor, are pleasantly explained as the 'cattle-lifters' (ag, agh + sagim, I seek, Gaelic ionn-*saich*, ionn-*suigh*); the old original Macfarlanes in fact. Dr. Holder has greatly extended his list of terms in Alb-, cf. our Alba, Alesia, which he formerly equated with our *aileach*, he now compares with Alesia in Corsica and Alesa in Sicily. The stem alto-, high, whence our *allt*, originally meaning a height, is found in the stream Altina and other names. The important class of names in are-, before (our *air*) is extended, as also those in ate- (our *ath*), with frequently intensive meaning. W. J. W.

Duthil: Past and Present. By the Rev. DONALD MACLEAN. The Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company. 1s. and 1s. 6d.

This interesting little book, by the minister of Free St. Columba's, Edinburgh, deals mainly with the spiritual life of a parish in the central fastnesses of the Highlands which, till it was recently opened up by the

railway, was but little subjected to outside influences. The fame of the 'Men' of Duthil was wide-spread. So uncompromising were they and so exacting that on one occasion they went for fifteen years without a minister. Mr. MacLean's narrative shows, as might be expected, the insight and discrimination which are peculiarly desirable in dealing with the spiritual life of a deeply earnest but often uninstructed and difficult people. His introductory chapter on the 'Remote Past' includes a scholarly and reliable study of the more important place-names of the district.

Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander is the title of a most interesting and valuable book by Mr. Duncan Campbell, late Editor of the *Northern Chronicle*. Mr. Campbell in the course of his long and active life has been an observant and thoughtful spectator of the changes that have come over his native Highlands. The book is a remarkable production for a man who has passed fourscore. It has as frontispiece an excellent portrait of the author. (Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company, Inverness.)

The Gaelic Society of Inverness will soon publish the twenty-sixth volume of its *Transactions*. The new volume will, we understand, contain many papers of great interest, and is likely to maintain fully the high standard of its predecessors. It cannot be too widely known that the annual membership subscription of 5s. includes the *Transactions*.

The forthcoming *Book of Arran*, which may be expected almost directly, will be awaited with interest. The intensive study of definite localities is an excellent thing, provided that it goes in the right lines, and Arran well deserves such study.

The veteran Celtist, Dr. Alexander Carmichael, contemplates issuing two additional volumes of *Carmina Gadelica*, consisting of further ancient Gaelic hymns, incantations, and other lore collected chiefly in the Western Isles. The two volumes of *Carmina* already published are now practically out of print. Dr. Carmichael is also issuing a second edition of *Deirdre*, being the remarkable versions of the Clann Usnech saga, which he collected in Barra.

M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE

DEATH has taken another of our few Celtic scholars. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville died in Paris on the 26th of February, in his eighty-third year.

As Professor of Celtic in the College de France he was a source of inspiration to his pupils, and the more notable of the younger Celtists of France owe their interest in this subject largely to his enthusiasm. But it is as editor for so many years of the *Revue Celtique* that he is best known, and by that he will be remembered even more than by his books, wide as the range of these is. He was a member of various learned societies, and also of the Legion of Honour.